

**MAQĀMĀT (STATIONS) AND AḤWĀL (STATES)
ACCORDING TO AL-QUSHAYRĪ AND AL-HUJWĪRĪ:
A Comparative Study**

By

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts**

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MAQAMAT AND AHWAL:

A COMPARISION BETWEEN AL-QUSHAYRT AND AL-HUJWIRT

ABSTRACT

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Title: *Maqāmāt* (Stations) and *Ahwāl* (States) according to al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī: A Comparative Study
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Degree: M.A.

This thesis is a study of the doctrine of *maqāmāt* (stations) and *ahwāl* (states), the crucial doctrine of sūfism, as described in two different books, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* and *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, by two different masters of Sūfism. one Sunni-Shāfi'ī, al-Qushayrī, the other Sunni-Hanafī, al-Hujwīrī. After introducing their positions in the history of sūfism, the thesis examines their backgrounds as well as their mystical inclinations. The thesis then analyzes al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's doctrine of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* through a comparison of concrete examples found in the two books. Through this comparison, the thesis attempts to show the differences and the similarities of their concepts of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl*. The conclusion discovers that the differences which appear in al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's views concerning identification of a virtue as a state or a station pertain to theoretical differences only.

RÉSUMÉ

Auteur : Abdul Muhaya
Titre : *Maqāmāt* (Stations) and *Aḥwāl* (States) According to al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī: A Comparative Study
Département : Institut des études islamiques
Diplôme : Maîtrise ès Arts

Cette thèse est une étude de la doctrine essentielle du soufisme, celle des *maqāmāt* (stations) et des *aḥwāl* (états), telle que décrite dans les ouvrages de deux maîtres soufis différents: *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah* d' al-Qushayrī, penseur sunnite-shafī'ite et *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* d' al-Hujwīrī, un sunnite-ḥanafite.

Après avoir présenté leurs positions respectives dans l'histoire du soufisme, cette thèse les situe dans leurs contextes et examine leurs aspirations mystiques. Elle analyse ensuite la doctrine des *maqāmāt* et des *aḥwāl* d' al-Qushayrī et al-Hujwīrī par une comparaison d'exemples concrets tirés des deux livres, afin d'en dégager les différences et les ressemblances. La conclusion démontre que les divergences qui apparaissent entre al-Qushayrī et al-Hujwīrī au sujet de l'identification d'une vertu à un état ou à une station ne sont que des différences théoriques.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Résumé	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Table of Contents	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One The Place of al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī in the History of Sufism	9
Al-Qushayrī's Life	13
Al-Hujwīrī's Life	24
Chapter Two <i>Maqāmāt</i> (Stations) and <i>Aḥwāl</i> (Stations)	30
<i>Taubah</i> (Repentance)	43
<i>Wara'</i> (Abstinence)	49
<i>Zuhd</i> (Asceticism)	52
<i>Qanā'ah</i> (Contentment)	57
<i>Tawakkul</i> (Trust in God)	59
<i>Riḍā</i> (Satisfaction)	64
<i>Huzn</i> (Sorrow)	68
<i>Wajd</i> and <i>Wujūd</i>	70
<i>Qahr</i> (Violence) and <i>Lūf</i> (Kindness)	72
<i>Khauf</i> (Fear) and <i>Rajā'</i> (Hope)	73
<i>Qabd</i> (Contraction) and <i>Bast</i> (Expansion) ..	77
<i>Uns</i> (Intimacy) and <i>Haybah</i> (Awe)	81
<i>Musūmarah</i> and <i>Muḥādathah</i>	83
<i>Dhikr</i> (Remembrance of God)	85
<i>Maḥabbah</i> (Love)	89
Conclusion	95
Bibliography	100

INTRODUCTION

Maqāmāt (stations) and *ahwāl* (states) are two important concepts in *sūfism*. Both of them, according to Nurbakhsh, function as a means to break the *sūfī*'s "idols" and to reach a unitarian stage.¹ They are the way to achieve the aim of *sūfism*, which is to transform the lower soul into a tranquil soul in order to return to God.² Related to this notion, Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī, in his dream, asked God about the way to come to Him. God answered. "Leave yourself and come."³ To leave oneself means to be free from one's own desires, and to come means to resign oneself towards God's will alone. This notion is the same as the real meaning of *sūfism* as described by al-Junayd. He said: "*Sufism* is that God makes thee die to thyself and become resurrected in Him."⁴ To achieve these aims, the *sūfis* have created a spiritual path which, basically, is the way to behave in relation to God. This path is that of the *maqāmāt* (stations).⁵

- ¹ Javad Nurbakhsh, "The *Sūfī* Path," *Sūfī : The magazine of khaniqahi Nimatullahi* VII (Autumn 1990), 4.
- ² God said: "O (thou) soul, in (complete) rest and satisfaction! Come back thou to thy Lord, well pleased (thyself), and well-pleasing unto Him! Enter thou, then, among my Devotees! Yea, enter thou My Heaven!" (al-Qur'ān, 89:27-30). See A Yūsuf 'Alī, *The Holy Qur'ān: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Washington, D.C.: The Islamic Centre n.d.), 1735. The following quotation of the Qur'ān will be based on this edition
- ³ Abu al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf, wa 'alayhā hawāmish min sharh Zakarīyā al-Ansārī* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1957), 177.
- ⁴ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Spiritual States in *Sūfism*," *Sufi Essays* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 69.
- ⁵ Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Balhī said that knowledge of the stations (*maqāmāt*) towards God is called knowledge with God (*al-'ilm ma'a Allāh*). See 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb; The oldest Persian Treatise on Sūfism*, translated with a preface by R.A. Nicholson (London: Luzac & Co., 1911), 16.

The States (*ahwāl*), on the other hand, are gifts from God which may be given in the process of passing through a station ⁶ When God manifests Himself either in His majesty (*jalāl*) or in His beauty (*jamāl*) in the pure and uncovered heart of the servant, the servant will love His manifestation. As a result of God's self manifestation, the heart feels fear or hope, joy or sorrow, contraction or expansion, intimacy or awe, etc. Such kinds of impressions are called the states (*ahwāl*). Al-Qashanī argued that these gifts are called *ahwāl* (states) because they become the means in the evolution of the servant "from the outward forms of creation and the lower depths of remoteness." This is the meaning of ascending ⁷

Although the doctrines of stations and states are interrelated with the doctrine of the veil (*hijāb*) and the doctrine of descent (*tanazzulāt*),⁸ I would like to emphasize here that this thesis will not deal with such interrelations, for these are momentous issues of *sūfism*.

⁶ Al-Kalābādhī said that every station has a beginning and an end, and between them are various states (*ahwāl*). See Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī, *al-Ta'arruf Li Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf*, ed. by Mahmūd Amīn al-Nawāwī (al-Qāhirah al-Kulīyah al-Azharīyah, 1969), 106

⁷ 'Abd al-Razāq al-Qāshānī, *Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyah* (Misr al-Hay'ah al-Misriyah al-'Ammah li al-Kitāb, 1981), 26. See also its translation, *A Glossary of Sūfi Technical Terms*, translated by Nabil Safwat (London: The Octagon Press Ltd., 1991), 4.

⁸ As an additional information in the post-classical period, the theory of a divine spark in man was adopted into *sūfism*. This theory is derived, perhaps, from the influence of the theory of emanation as well as other Gnostic ideas adopted by the Shi'āh. See Fritz Meier "The Mystic Path," *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture*, ed. by Bernard Lewis (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 119. We might find such a doctrine, for example, in the thought of al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d.587/1191) which is known as the philosophy of illumination (*Hikmat al-Ishraq*). According to this theory, human soul is light that illuminated from The Light of lights. The more the light (soul) was illuminated by The Light of lights, the more he/she (soul) enjoys His illumination and becomes more perfect. While non being (other than Him) is nothing but darkness caused by an absence of the light. For detailed information about the process of illumination see "Temple Fifth" in Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, *Hayākil al-Nūr*, ed. by M. Alī Abū Rayyān (Misr al-Maktabah al-Tijārīyah al-Kubrā, 1956), 68-79. Later, the master of *sūfism*, Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), developed the doctrine of the unity of being (*wahdat al*

Two well-known *sūfis*, who have devoted some attention to the doctrine of *maqāmāt* (stations) and *ahwāl* (states) are Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and Abū al-Hasan ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī al-Ghaznawī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī. Both of these men were important figures in *sūfism* and lived at the same time; both also belonged to al-Junayd's school. Al-Qushayrī was an Ash‘arite theologian and an outstanding personality in Sunnī-Shāfi‘ī *sūfism*, and he is noted for his efforts to reconcile *sūfism* and *fiqh*; al-Hujwīrī, for his part, was a Sunnī-Hanafī *sūfī* master, who also succeeded in elaborating the doctrine of *sūfism* in a way which was acceptable in his group.

This thesis attempts to establish the similarities as well as the differences which are to be observed in the views of these two masters regarding the doctrine of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* as enunciated in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* (al-Qushayrī) and *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (al-Hujwīrī). The reason for focusing on these two books is that both of them are considered among the most important authorities for the study of classical *sūfism*.

Al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah is an important *sūfī* treatise in Arabic. This book was written in 437/1045.⁹ and delivered to the public (*ijāzah*) in the beginning of 438/1046¹⁰ for at least two important purposes: to elucidate the true *sūfī* path and to prevent *sūfī* malpractices in society.¹¹ There are a number of commentaries upon this *Risālah*. They are *Sharh al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* by Zakarīya al-Ansārī, *Natā’ij al-*

wujūd). These two theories exerted some influence on the development of the doctrine of the mystical journey in *sūfism* which, of course, had a direct impact on the *sūfis*' doctrine of states and stations. This point is not, however, the object of this thesis.

⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 186.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

Alkār al-Qudsīyah fī Bayān Ma'ānī Sharh al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah by Mustafā 'Arūsī,¹² *al-Dalālah fī Fawā'id al-Risālah* by Shadīd al-Dīn al-Iskandarānī and *Irshād al-Murīdīn* attributed to al-Suhrawardī al-Baghdādī.¹³

From its contents, the concerns of *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, can be broadly classified into four important points. Elaboration of the basic principles of faith (*īmān*) for the *sūfī* is the first point. A description of the lives of *sūfī* masters, to show how they respect the religious obligation (*sharī'ah*) in their life, is the second point. The third point is to clarify a number of technical terms in *sūfism* like *waqt*, *hāl*, *maqām*, *tamkīn* and to prevent the misunderstanding that lead to malpractices of *sūfism*.¹⁴ The last point is to provide the true *sūfī* path. For such an aim, al-Qushayrī has collected a number of doctrinal proofs and illustrates them by quoting various important sayings and stories. The purpose of this effort is to give a clear picture about true *sūfism*.

The *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* has been printed several times in traditional editions; the one used here was published in Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1957. This is preferable to the new edition which is edited by Ma'rūf Zurayq and 'Alī 'Abd al-Hamīd. Beyrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1990 which contains a number of arbitrary changes and unexplained omissions.¹⁵ In case of doubt, I have also consulted Richard Gramlich's German translation of the book, which is based on a critical examination of

¹² Richard Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qušayrīs über das Sufitum* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), 18.

¹³ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur Supplementband* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), I, 771-772.

¹⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 31. As an additional information, the copy of *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* which is edited by 'Abd al-Halīm Mahmūd and Mahmūd al-Sharīf al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub al-Hadithah, 1966 is not available in McGill Islamic studies library.

¹⁵ See for example in page 49 and 89.

the manuscripts.¹⁶

Kashf al-Mahjūb is one of the oldest and most important books dealing with sūfism in the Persian language. This is the only book written by al-Hujwīrī which is available at present. This book has been printed several times in the different editions; the critical one is the book which is edited by Vālintīn Zhūkōfskī (reprint Tih-rān: Amir-i Kabir, 1957). Owing to an insufficient acquaintance with the Persian language, my study of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* will be based on the English translation by Nicholson. Wherever I find a problem, I will consult the critical Persian edition by Zhūkōfskī.

In this thesis, my reference of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* will be abbreviated as follows:

P = *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, edited by Vālintīn Zhūkōfskī. Reprint Tih-rān: Amir-i Kabir, 1957.

E = *Kashf al-Mahjūb; The oldest Persian Treatise on Sūfism*, translated with a preface by R.A. Nicholson. London: Luzac & co., 1911.

A = *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, translated with an introduction by Is'ād 'Abd al-Hādī al-Qandhīl. Beyrūt: Dār al-Nahdah al-'Arabīyah, 1980.

Although *Kashf al-Mahjūb* has the same objective as the *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, the two books are, according to Zhūkōfskī, different in their aspects, arrangements, and qualities as well as in terms of the number of problems which are discussed.¹⁷ The *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is divided into an introduction and twenty-five chapters. It can, however, be summarized into three main parts. The first part is an introduction. The second comprises thirteen chapters on the history of sūfism while

¹⁶ Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 18.

¹⁷ See al-Hujwīrī, P, Zhūkōfskī's Introduction, 57.

the third part involves eleven chapters on "uncovering veils" (*kashf al-hijāb*), i.e. the doctrine and practice of sūfism. For Nicholson, the fourteenth chapter, where the author mentions and elaborates twelve different doctrines and sects, is the most remarkable chapter in this book. He even observes that this book is the first to deal with such subjects.¹⁸

This book, according to Nicholson, was partially based in its composition on the arrangement of *al-Luma'* of al-Sarrāj (d.377 or 378 A.H./988). Nicholson considers it to be an "improvement" over *al-Luma'*.¹⁹ Is'ād, in his introduction, gives a six page index showing examples of al-Hujwīrī's quoting from *al-Luma'*.²⁰ Besides, he also has an index for al-Hujwīrī's quotations from *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, and from *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah* of al-Sulamī (d 412 A.H.).²¹ From these examples, it is certain that al-Hujwīrī was influenced by al-Sarrāj, al-Sulamī and al-Qushayrī.

The book was named *Kashf al-Mahjūb (The Revelation of the Mystery)* for the reason that it was composed to polish "the hearts which are infected by the removable veil that is the veil of 'clouding' (*hijāb ghaynī*)."²² This book was composed to answer Abū Sa'īd al-Hujwīrī's question concerning such questions as the true meaning of sūfism, the nature of stations (*maqāmāt*), the doctrine of sūfism, the doctrine of Divine love, the reason for the "veil" of the intellects, and "the practical aspects of sūfism which are connected with these theories."²³

¹⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, xxi-xxii

¹⁹ Ibid., xxii. See also A.M.A. Shushtery, "Eight Major Scriptures and Their Teachings." *The Sufi Mystery*, ed. by Nathaniel P. Archer (London: The Octagon Press, 1980), 88.

²⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, A, Is'ād's introduction, 166-171.

²¹ Ibid., 172-176.

²² Allusion to the *hadīth al-ighanah*, see below, 35 and 41.

²³ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 6-7.

There is no adequate information about the date when the book was composed. We only have the information that the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* was written when the author was staying in India. This fact can be deduced from his own statement that he was not able to adequately discuss Abū Halīm Habīb al-Rā'ī because his books were left at Ghazna while he was captive at Lahore.²⁴ Is'ād speculates that al-Hujwīrī started to write his *Kashf al-Mahjūb* around 435/1043 (the year of the persecution that occurred at Lahore) and finished it in 442/1050 (one year after the death of 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Sīrkānī (d.441/ 1049). Because when al-Hujwīrī mentions Khwāja 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Sīrkānī,²⁵ he uses the past tense indicating that he was no longer alive,²⁶ while in mentioning Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Husayn al-Haramī (d. 442/1050), al-Hujwīrī uses the present tense showing that al-Haramī was still alive.²⁷ Is'ād's point, however, remains questionable as does the problem of establishing the date of al-Hujwīrī's death.²⁸

Scholars have different opinions about the full name of this book. Hajjī Khalīfa said that the full name of this book is *Kashf al-Mahjūb li-Arbāb al-Qulūb*.²⁹ Muhammad Pārsā said that its full name is *Kashf hujub al-Mahjūb li-Arbāb al-Qulūb*.³⁰ But the author himself mentioned that the name of his book is *Kashf al-Mahjūb*.³¹

²⁴ Ibid., 91.

²⁵ Ibid., 173.

²⁶ Ibid., 174.

²⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, A, Is'ād's introduction, 119-121.

²⁸ For the date of al-Hujwīrī's death, see the following discussion, 27-28.

²⁹ Hājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn 'An Asāmī al-Kutub wa al-Funūn* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaasi, 1943), II, 1494.

³⁰ See al-Hujwīrī, A, Is'ād's introduction, 111.

³¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 4.

Compared to earlier sūfī treatises, like *al-Luma'*, *al-Ta'arruf*, *Qūt al-Qulūb* and *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* has a different style, for it not only contains reports of a great number of sayings from prominent sūfis, but also discusses and examines the various opinions in a systematic order which makes it easy to be understood.

This thesis will be divided into two main chapters, apart from an introduction and a conclusion. The first chapter will focus on providing the essential background to these two masters (al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī), particularly their sūfī lineage or, in other words, their mystical inclinations as well as their place in the development of the history of sūfism. The second chapter will deal with the basic subject of the thesis, namely, the doctrine of stations (*maqāmāt*) and states (*ahwāl*) as expounded by each of these masters, and will examine the similarities as well as differences between them. Other classical Arabic treatises on sūfism will also be utilized to clarify the issues under discussion.

In approaching the doctrine of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* in the thesis, I will use the descriptive comparative approach. The discussion will attempt a descriptive survey of the information provided by these treatises (especially as regards the discussion of stations and states). Through a comparative approach, the information relating to the subject matter will then be compared, in order to discover the similarities and the differences that exist in the same doctrine in these two different books.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PLACE OF AL-QUSHAYRI AND AL-HUJWIRI IN THE HISTORY OF SŪFISM

In the latter part of the Umayyad and the early Abbasid periods, Muslims came into contact with large non-Muslim communities which had different cultures, traditions and backgrounds. This contact influenced Muslim civilization, art, and thought.¹ During this period, some sūfis were moderate, while others, who adopted external elements to their mystical teachings, were less so. As a result, there were some sūfis who created a new mystical vocabulary that might be considered dangerous from the viewpoint of Islamic jurisprudence,² even though the basis of their vocabulary was, as was shown by Massignon³ essentially Qur'ānic.

The ninth century was the era of the important figures of early sūfism; Dhū al-Nūn (d. 245/859), "one of the most attractive and intriguing figures in the history of sūfism," Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 234/848 or 261/874), who played an important role in "the horizon of early Persian sūfism," Yahyā b. Mu'ādh (d. 258/871) who stressed in his teaching hope in God (*rajā'*) and al-Muhāsibī (d. 243/857), who was occupied with the most secret motions of the soul and the heart.⁴

¹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 31-33.

² For further information on the influence of non-Islamic elements on sūfism, particularly, the influence of Christian, Gnostic and Neo-platonic ideas, see A.E. Krymsky, "A Sketch of The Development of Sūfism Down To The End of The Third Century of The Hijra," *The Islamic Quarterly* VI (July - October 1961), 79-106.

³ Louis Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la Mystique Musulmane* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1922).

⁴ Schimmel, *Mystical*, 45-54.

Since the *sūfis* seek to uncover the esoteric aspect of Islamic teachings, they sometimes said that intention was more important than practical conduct,⁵ there was a big gap between *sūfism* and *fiqh*. The latter tended to emphasize the exoteric meaning of Islamic teachings. The tragedy of al-Hallāj (d. 310/922) was the most glaring manifestation of this conflict.⁵

Al-Junayd (d. 298/815-6) attempted to reconcile the conflict between the *sūfis* and the orthodox. His personality and his doctrine are a model of this synthesis

Junayd was a non-radical and was considered in his attitude to orthodox theology. He held that *sūfī* teachings were based on the the fundamentals of the tradition of Islam, and worked continuously to prove this. In this spirit he raised, as we have seen, *sūfism* to the level of orthodoxy, and thus made it acceptable to the orthodox representatives of Islam.⁷

He tried to interpret his own personal experience in ways which would be acceptable to the orthodox. He based his teachings on the Qur'ān and the *Hadīth*. He maintained his orthodox views even after achieving the stage of *fanā'* (annihilation).⁸

In the tenth century, the organization and the growth of *sūfism* began. In this century there were a number of *sūfī* masters, among them Abū Bakr al-Shiblī of Baghdad (d.334/946), Abū Bark al-Wāsitī of Farghāna (d.331/942), Muhammad b 'Abd al-Jabbār Al-Niffarī (fl. 350/961) and Ibn al-Khafīf of Shiraz (d.371/982). Al-

⁵ Louis Massignon, "*Tasawwuf*," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition (1987)

⁶ In the third century of Islam, the conflict led to the persecution of *sūfis*. They were accused of being atheists, infidels and believers in re-incarnation. This conflict, however, was not motivated by purely doctrinal differences, but also political interests. For more elaboration see 'Alī Hassan 'Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd 1962), 35-47. As an additional reference, there is an important study about the persecution of the *sūfis* for their ecstatic utterances. See Carl W Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy In Sufism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985).

⁷ Abdel Kader, *The Life*, 51.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

Niffarī, who wrote *Kitāb al-Mawāqif wa Kitāb al-Mukhātabāt*,⁹ is one of the most interesting figures. His books represent direct revelation received from God. These books were composed in the style of a dialogue with God, following the pattern that was used by Abū Yazīd with new contents.¹⁰

During the same period, sūfī teachings were transmitted directly from the master to his disciples. This method, however, had its weaknesses since it could not reconcile the gap between the sūfis and the *fuqahā*. It also led to the emergence of a number of "sects" in sūfism since each disciple had a different capacity to memorize his master's teachings, let alone those of other masters. To cope with these problems, the sūfī masters developed a systematic documentation of sūfī history which was motivated by two significant points: the first was to develop a strategy for spreading sūfī teachings through sūfī organizations. The second was to bridge the notorious gap between the sūfī and orthodox Islāmic schools.

In the subsequent developments, however, this conflictual relationship tended to diminish. Under these circumstances, there were sūfis who were eager to rehabilitate the orthodox's opinions and attitudes towards sūfism. Thus, we find books written by sūfī masters for this purpose e.g. Abū Sa'īd b. al-A'rābī's (d.341/952) *Tabaqāt al-Nussāk* and Abū Muhammad al-Khuldī's (d. 348/959) *Hikāyāt al-Awliyā*. Unfortunately, these works have not survived to the present.¹¹

Among the surviving ones are Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj's (d.378/988) *Kitāb al-Luma'*

⁹ Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Niffarī, *Kitāb al-Mawāqif wa Kitāb al-Mukhātabāt*, ed. and translated, commentary and indices by A.J Arberry (Cambridge: Published and distributed by Trustees of the "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial", 1987).

¹⁰ A.J. Arberry, *Sūfism: An Account of the Mystics of Islām* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1969), 64

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

that is considered to be one of the oldest surviving Arabic *sūfī* treatises,¹² the *Qūt al-Qulūb* of Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d. 357/966) that was carefully studied by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), *al-Ta'arruf Li Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf* of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhi (d. 391/1000) which was characterized as "frankly apologetic" by Arberry, and the *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah* of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021).¹³

By the eleventh century, *sūfism* became firmly established and spread to almost all the Islamic countries. In the early part of the century, Abū Nu'aym al-Isbahānī (d.430/1038) wrote ten volumes of *Hilyat al-Auliā'*. This book contains the biography of a number of *sūfī* masters along with their teachings. In 437/1044,¹⁴ al-Qushayrī (d.465/1072) composed the admirable comprehensive treatise on the theoretical structure of *sūfism*, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*. At almost the same time as al-Qushayrī, one of the oldest Persian *sūfī* treatises, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, was written by al-Hujwīrī (d.ca. 465/1072).¹⁵

It should be noted that most of the early *sūfī* treatises were written with at least two important aims. The first was to elaborate the true *sūfī* doctrine, including an exposition of the various *maqāmāt* (stations) and *ahwāl* (states); the second was to oppose the current malpractice of *sūfism*. These two purposes were stated in *Kitāb*

¹² This treatise is quoted by Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), al-Qushayrī, al-Hujwīrī, Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār, al-Ghazālī and became an important reference for the later studies of *sūfism*. See Hamiduddin, "Early Sufis: Doctrine," *A History of Muslim Philosophy* ed. by M.M. Sharif (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1963), I, 311.

¹³ Arberry, *Sūfism*, 67-70.

¹⁴ 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawazīn al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf wa 'alayhā hawāmish min sharh Zakariyā al-Ansārī* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb Al-'Arabī, 1957), 2.

¹⁵ A.J. Arberry, *Sūfism*, 70-71.

¹⁶ Abū Nasr 'Abd Allāh al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Lumā' fi Tasawwuf* ed. with critical notes,

al-Luma',¹⁶ *Ta'arruf*,¹⁷ *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*¹⁸ and in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*.¹⁹

To realize these two aims, the majority of the early sūfī treatises were focused on two important points: biographies of sūfī masters and the basic references (Qur'ānic verses, prophetic tradition and the statements of sūfī masters on sūfī doctrines). The former was aimed at showing the public that sūfī teaching was the way of life of the pious 'ulamā'. The latter was to convince the public that sūfism is in line with Islamic teachings through delineating the true Path of sūfism.

AL-QUSHAYRĪ'S LIFE

His origins: al-Qushayrī was born in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal in 376/ 986 in Ustuwā,²⁰ a district of Nīshāpūr consisting of 93 villages that were centralized in Khabūshān.²¹ His full name is Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī. Known as a leading sūfī scholar, he was the author of important Arabic sūfī treatises²² that were consistent with Ash'arī theology.²³

abstract of contents, glossary, and indices by R. A. Nicholson (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1914) 2.

17 Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhi, *al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf*, ed. by Mahmūd Amīn al-Nawāwī (al-Qāhirah: al-Kulīyah al-Azharīyah, 1969), 4.

18 Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 2.

19 Al-Hujwīrī, E, 12.

20 Abū Bakr Ahmad 'Alī al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād au Madīnah al-Salām* (Misr: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1931), XI, 83. Richard Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben Al-Quşayrīs über das Sufitum* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), 11.

21 Safī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu' mīn b. Abd al-Haqq, *Marāsīd al-ittilā' 'Alā al-Asmā' al-Amkinah wa al-Biqā'* (al-Qāhirah: Dā Ihyā' al-kutub al-'Arabīyah, 1954), I, 71. See also Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hamawī Yāqūt, *Murjam al-Buldān* (Beyrūt: Dār Sādir, 1957), I, 175.

22 A.J. Arberry, *Sūfism*, 28.

23 Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islām: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1977),

There is no detailed information about al-Qushayrī's childhood; historians only say that his father died when he was still a child and that his uncle was Abū 'Aqīl al-Sulamī, one of the noble Dihqāns of Ustuwā.²⁴ His mother, however, came from Banū Sulaym.²⁵

He was known as al-Qushayrī because he was from Banū Qushayr, the descendents of Qushayr b. Ka'ab b. Rabī'ah b. 'Amr b. Sa'sa'ah.²⁶ The Qushayr tribe, originally, descended from Arabs who later moved to Khurasān and dominated this city.²⁷ Historically, during the Umayyad period, Khurasān was governed by several tribes. In 29/649, 'Abdullāh b. Amīr b. Kurayz b. Rabī'ah b. Habīb b. 'Abd al-Shams was appointed governor of Khurasān by 'Uthmān, the third caliph.²⁸ During the regime of the 'Umar II, however, Khurasān was governed by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qushayrī.²⁹ In other words, in the early period of Islām, both Sulamī and Qushayrī tribes governed Khurasān on behalf of the Arabs. Thus, al-Qushayrī's

II, 281.

²⁴ Abū al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asakīr, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī fī-mā Nusiba ilā al-Imām Abī al-Hasan al-Ash'arī* (Damascus: Matba'ah al-Taufīq, 1347.A.H), 272

²⁵ Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Hasan al-Asnawī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah*, ed. by 'Abdullāh al-Jibūrī (Baghdād: Matba'at al-Irshād, 1971), II, 314.

²⁶ Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1356), II, 264. See also Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab fī Ma'rifah Ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. by Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī (Baghdād. Maktabat al-Muthnā, n.d.), III, 37. This is different from "Qusharī", the Tamīm clan. See 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Yamānī (Hyderabad Matba'ah Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmanīyah, 1979), X, 423-427.

²⁷ Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah al-Kubrā* (Misr Matba'at al-Husaynīyah, n.d.), III, 332.

²⁸ In this period, Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī was appointed military commander in the administrative districts of Nīshāpūr, while Ibn Kundīr al-Qushayrī was military commander in Makrān. See al-Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī*, translated by R. Stephen Humphreys (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), XV, 33-34.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, XXII, 85.

parents belonged to the noble social classes of his society which made it possible for him to pursue his education with a number of 'ulamā' in the various important subjects of Islamic studies.

His education: During the early part of his life, al-Qushayrī studied Arabic and literature under Abū al-Qāsim al-Alīmānī.³⁰ He received his primary Islāmic education in a local mosque, "*masjid*".³¹ There, al-Qushayrī studied about the different sects, *firqah*, and became familiar with the different interpretations of Islamic teachings among Muslims.³² Then al-Qushayrī decided to study arithmetic to help his community deal with the problem of taxes. So, he set off to the capital and learning centre of Khurasān, Nīshāpūr, for that purpose.³³

In Nīshāpūr, he met Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq (d.406/1015),³⁴ and he became interested in his teachings. This encounter not only led al-Qushayrī to decide to pursue sūfī study instead of arithmetic, it also stimulated him to study theology,

³⁰ Al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, III, 344.

³¹ At that time, the *Masjid* was a centre of learning beside the *madrasah*. The difference between these two centres of learning was that the *Masjid* was more liberal than *madrasah*. Since the *madrasahs* were built and run under the private *waqf*, their policies and decisions were coloured by the founder. The *Masjid*, however, was a sacred institution that could not be monopolized by a certain person. For detailed information, see Murtada Hasan al-Naqīb, "Nizām al-Mulk: An Analytical Study of His Career and Contribution to the Development of Political and Religious Institutions Under the Great Saijūqs." (Ph.D. Thesis. McGill University, 1978), II, 453-465.

³² Qassim al-Samarrai, *The Theme of Ascension In Mystical Writings* (Baghdad: The National Printing And Publishing Co., 1968), 33. In his youth, al-Qushayrī had excellent skills both as a swordsman and as a horseman. See Shams al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. by Ihsān 'Abbās (Beyrūt: Dār al-Sādir, n.d.), no. 394, 206. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 273. Muhammad b. alī al-Dāwudī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabah Wahbah, 1972), I, 339.

³³ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 394, 206.

³⁴ He was the founder and the first director of a sūfī *madrasah*, in 391/ 1000-01, as well as a sūfī master. In this *madrasah*, al-Qushayrī was taught *Tasawwuf*, *Dhikr* and tradition by al-Daqqāq. See al-Naqīb, "Nizām al-Mulk," II, 445-449.

Islamic jurisprudence and to eventually become a *sūfī*. Since *sūfism* can not be separated from other Islamic fields. Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq asked al-Qushayrī to study Islamic law. As a result, al-Qushayrī went to study *Fiqh* under Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Bakr al-Tūsī (d.420/1029) until he mastered this subject. Later on, he studied theology under Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d.406/1015)³⁵

After the death of Abū Bakr b. Fūrak, al-Qushayrī studied under Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 418/1020) where he was obligated to write down the lessons. Since al-Qushayrī was able to memorize all the lessons perfectly, he was given the status of "independent student" for his tremendous intellectual ability.

After finishing these studies, al-Qushayrī concentrated on studying al-Bāqillānī's works (d. 403/1012).³⁶ At the same time, he was very active in al-Daqqāq's lectures.³⁷ The latter became Qushayrī's primary master in *sūfism* and finally became his father-in-law when al-Qushayrī married his daughter,³⁸ Fātima (d. 480/1087).³⁹ After the death of al-Daqqāq, al-Qushayrī succeeded him as director of al-Daqqāq's *madrasah* that became one of the central institutions of *sūfī* learning in Nīshāpūr.⁴⁰ At

³⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1987), XII, 114. See also Muhammad Bāqir Zayn al-'Abidīn Khwānsārī, *Raudat al-Jannah fī Ahwāl al-'Ulamā' wa-al-Sadah* (Tihrah: Maktabah Ismā'īliyan, 1970-1972), V, 94; Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tabyīn*, 272; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam* (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1938), VIII, 280. See also Yusūf b. Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī mulūk Misr wa al-Qāhirah* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyah, 1935), V, 91.

³⁶ Unfortunately, there is no detailed information about which books were studied by al-Qushayrī. Al-Bāqillānī was known as an important Ash'arī theologian.

³⁷ 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Dāwudī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, I, 341. See also Ibn 'Asākīr, *Tabyīn*, 273.

³⁸ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 394, 206.

³⁹ 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Dāwudī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, I, 344.

⁴⁰ Al-Naqīb, "Nizām al-Mulk," II, 445-449.

that time, al-Qushayrī adopted Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) as his spiritual guide⁴¹ and started to write *tafsīr* and *sūfī* treatises. It is assumed that he had already finished writing his *tafsīr*, *al-Taysīr fī 'Ilm al-Tafsīr* by 410/1019. This *tafsīr* was considered by Ibn Khallikān to be the best *tafsīr*.⁴²

Al-Qushayrī studied traditions under Abū al-Hasan al-Ahwāzi (d. 415/1024), Abū Nu'aym 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Hasan al-Isfarā'inī (b. 310/922), 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Isbahānī (d. 409/1019), Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Isbahānī (d. 406/1015) and other 'ulamā'. Consequently, he came to master the subject of prophetic traditions. He was even referred to as one of *ahl al-hadīth* by A.J. Arberry.⁴³

After studying several fields of Islamic studies, he became a master of Islamic jurisprudence, Theology, Tradition, Qur'ānic exegesis, Arabic literature and grammar, poetry and *sūfism*.⁴⁴

Al-Qushayrī's *sūfī* teachings had been transmitted through a long chain, *siilsila*, starting from the followers of the prophet (*tābī'īn*), to Dawūd al Tā'ī (d. 165/781-2), to Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-6), to al-Sarī al-Saqatī (d. 251/865), to Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 298/910-11), to Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), to Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Nasrābādhi, (d. 367/977) to Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, to al-Qushayrī.⁴⁵

⁴¹ 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Dāwudī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, I, 341.

⁴² Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 273. See also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 394, 206.

⁴³ See A.J. Arberry, "al-Qushayrī As Traditionist," *Studia Orientalia Iranica* (Petersen, 1953), 12-13. In this article, Arberry lists fourteen of al-Qushayrī's tradition teachers whose transmission chain goes back to the Prophet. For al-Qushayrī's teachers, see also Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 12 - 13.

⁴⁴ 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Dāwudī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, I, 339. See also Qassim al-Samarrāi, *The Theme*, 29.

⁴⁵ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 134. See also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 274. See also 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Dāwudī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, I, 242. As an additional reference see Muhammad Hasan's introduction to al-Qushayrī, *al-Rasā'il al-Qushayrīyah*, collected with an introduction by Muhammad Hasan

Besides the figures mentioned above, al-Qushayrī had a number of other masters. Among them were Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān al-Isfarāyīnī, Abū Nu'aym Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mahrajānī, Abū Hāmid al-Isfarāyīnī, Abū al-Hasan Ahmad al-Hafāf, al-Husayn b. Shujā' al-Bazār, Hamzah b. Yūsuf al-Jurjānī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad al-'Adl, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Muzakkī, etc.⁴⁶

Al-Qushayrī is also said to have met Abū Sa'īd b. Abī al-Khayr (d. 440/1049). Although in the period 415-425/1024-1033, Abū Sa'īd was a very popular sūfī master among the students in Nīshāpūr,⁴⁷ not much is known about al-Qushayrī's encounter with him. Ibn al-Munawwar mentions that al-Qushayrī and his students (seventy students) had attended and participated in Abū Sa'īd's lecture (*majlis*).⁴⁸ He adds that, on other occasions, al-Qushayrī got involved in the *majlis* of Abū Sa'īd.⁴⁹ Nicholson, however, questioned these statements. He argues that the anecdote recounted was meant to illustrate the hostility between two different types of Islamic mysticism: al-Qushayrī represented the "mystical theologian" who strongly believed that sūfism should be performed according to Islamic teachings, while Abū Sa'īd represented an opposite view.⁵⁰ Samarrai also questions Ibn al-Munawwar's claim. He points out that this anecdote was only mentioned in the *Asrār* written by Abū

(Pakistan: al-Abhath al-Islāmīyah, n.d.), 5, Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 12

⁴⁶ For further information, see Muhammad Hasan, "Introduction," 5-8

⁴⁷ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (Beirut: Librairie Du Liban, 1973), 192

⁴⁸ Muhammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-Tauhīd fī Maqāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Sa'īd*, Arabic translation by Is'ād 'Abd al-Hādī Qandhīl (Misr: al-Dār al-Misrīyah, n.d.), 97.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 234 and 290.

⁵⁰ R. A. Nicholson, *Studies In Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1921), 33-34.

Sa'īd's great grandson who had a tendency to view Abū Sa'īd as the superior and al-Qushayrī as an inferior. This attitude is explicitly stated in several pages of the *Asrār*.⁵¹ He adds that the father of the author of the *Asrār* reported that al-Qushayrī was not friendly with Abū Sa'īd. In addition, Samarrai argues that al-Qushayrī's teachings were different from Abū Sa'īd's. For al-Qushayrī, *sūfism* should be practiced in line with the *sharī'ah*. Achieving a high status on the mystical path does not exempt the *sūfī* from being bound by God's rules. By contrast, Abū Sa'īd is said to have believed that anyone who reached an advanced stage on the spiritual Path is not bound by the rules of the *sharī'ah*.⁵²

His family: as mentioned above, al-Qushayrī's wife was Fātima (d.480/1087), the daughter of Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq.⁵³ According to Muhammad Hasan, al-Qushayrī and Fātima had seven children; one daughter, Ummah (sic) al-Karīm and six sons.⁵⁴ The names of the sons are Abū Nasr 'Abd al-Rahīm (d. 514/1120) who was considered a leading figure.⁵⁵ Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh (d. 477/1085),⁵⁶ Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Wāhid (d. 494/1101-2),⁵⁷ Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 482/1089),⁵⁸ Abū al-Fath 'Ubaydillāh

⁵¹ Al-Munawwar, *Asrār*, 102, 139, 231, 157, 305.

⁵² Qassim al-Samarrai, *The Theme*, 34-41.

⁵³ Unfortunately, there is no detailed information about her life. Muhammad Hasan, in his introduction to *al-Rasā'il*, only mentions that Fātima was considered a woman of high social status and knowledge, and that she was a worshiper (*'ābidah*). See Muhammad Hasan, "Introduction," 9.

⁵⁴ Muhammad Hasan, "Introduction," 10.

⁵⁵ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 394, 207-208. See also 'Abd al-Hayyi b. al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Qudsy, 1350), IV, 45.

⁵⁶ For his biography see 'Abd al-Hayyi, *Shadharāt*, III, 354. See also al-Asnawī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 316.

⁵⁷ For his biography 'Abd al-Hayyi, *Shadharāt*, III, 401. See also al-Asnawī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 317.

⁵⁸ See his biography in al-Asnawī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 316.

(d. 521/1127)⁵⁹ and Abū al-Muzaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im (d. 532/1137-8).⁶⁰

His works: al-Qushayrī started to write after the death of Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq. He is considered a prolific writer. Carl Brockelmann estimated Qushayrī's works to be twenty,⁶¹ while Muhammad Hasan listed thirty-one works.⁶² Besides, al-Qushayrī had many students who became important figures.⁶³

His political challenge: When Abū Nasr al-Kundurī (d. 456. A.H./ 1064) became Tughrul's (1037-1063) *wazīr*, the Shāfi'ite - Ash'arites were persecuted by the Saljūq government forces for political and religious reasons. The persecution was motivated by the conflict between the two schools of Islamic jurisprudence, the Hanafite and the Shāfi'ite and also between the 'Ash'aris and the Mu'tazilites. It was, according to Al-Subkī, motivated by Kundurī's political jealousy of Abū Sahl b. al-Muwaffaq who had great influence among both the Shāfi'i and the Hanafī 'ulamā'.⁶⁴ Al-Naqīb, however, refutes this claim. He argues that Abū Sahl b. Muwaffaq at that time was only twenty-three years old. So it is questionable that he would be so powerful as to challenge Kundurī.⁶⁵ According to al-Subkī, the Shāfi'i Ash'aris would not have been persecuted except for Kundurī's fanatical stance as a Mu'tazilī *rāfidī*.⁶⁶ For al-Naqīb,

⁵⁹ See His biography al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, IV, 269-70. See also al-Asnawī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 318.

⁶⁰ See his biography in 'Abd al-Hayyī, *Shadharāt*, IV, 99. Al-Dahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz* (n.p.: n.d.), III, 335. See also al-Asnawī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 318. See also Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 15.

⁶¹ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar: E. Felber, 1898-1902), I, 556-557. See also Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Supplementband* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1943-1949), I, 771-772.

⁶² Muhammad Hasan "Introduction," 24-26.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁶⁴ Al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 270.

⁶⁵ See al-Naqīb, "Nizām al-Mulk," I, 195.

this statement is biased and cannot be trusted for two reasons; the first is that not only the followers of Shāfi'ī Ash'arīs were persecuted, but also the Karramites. The second argument is that the Ash'arī historians condemn Kunderī as a Mu'tazilī and *rāfidī* because it is common that the enemies of the Ash'arīs would usually be branded as such.⁶⁷

According to al-Naqīb, the proper way to approach this event is through clarifying the historical background of this inquisition. Moreover, he points out that, during the eleventh century, Khurasān was dominated by both Hanafīs and Shāfi'īs. The Hanafī 'ulamā' dominated the office of *qadā'*, while the Shāfi'ī 'ulamā' occupied the positions of *khutabā'* and *ru'asā'*. During the reign of the Saljūqs who followed the Hanafite school of thought, the positions of *khutabā'* and *ru'asā'* were brought under the authority of the Hanafī 'ulamā' Abu Nasr Ahmad al-Sa'idī (d. 482/1089) and Abū Hasan 'Alī al-Sandalī (d. 484/1091) were among the people appointed by the Saljūq to replace the Shāfi'ī *khutabā'* and *ru'asā'* positions.

Ahmad al-Sa'idī was appointed chief of *ru'asā'* in Nishāpūr from around 430/1038-39 till 450/1058-59. His policies tended to be intolerant of other schools of thought. As a result, many non Hanafī 'ulamā' were not satisfied with his attitude. Compared to al-Sa'idī, 'Alī al-Sandalī was even less tolerant. He was appointed as chief *khatīb* for nine years and then became the chief of Hanafī *muqaddam* in Nishāpūr. His fanatical espousal of the Hanafī-Mu'tazilī cause was expressed not only in his policies, but also in his Friday prayer sermons in which he attacked his opponents. This situation precipitated tension and hostilities among the religious sects.⁶⁸ Kunderī, who favoured the Hanafīte-Mu'tazilite school, then exploited this

⁶⁶ Al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 270. See also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 108.

⁶⁷ Al-Naqīb, "Nizām al-Mulk," I, 191-194.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1, 177-181.

situation to strengthen the establishment of the Saljūqs in this area through destroying the power of the Shāfi'i-Ash'arī group.

Besides the political reasons, there was also a theological conflict which led to this inquisition. The conflict is said to have begun when Tughrul read Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* in 445/1053. Ibn Taghribirdī states that Tughrul ordered the cursing of Ash'arism in the *khutbah* because, from Tughrul's point of view, Ash'arī implied the opinion that God had no Speech (*Kalam*) on this earth⁶⁹ Qassim al-Samarrai surmises that Tughrul was angered because 'Ash'arī identified Abū Hanīfah as the founder of the *Murjā* sect.⁷⁰

From the above informations, two points can be emphasized: The first is that the persecution was caused by both religious and political reasons and had nothing to do with Mu'tazilī *rāfidī* group. The second is that the Shāfi'i -Ash'arīs had become the main object of persecution because they not only had an important role in this area but had also become the theological as well as the Islamic jurisprudential opponents of the ruler.

At that time, al-Qushayrī was an important leader of the Shāfi'i-Ash'arī group. He was a chief of this group after the death of Imām Muwaffaq. He led thirteen Shāfi'i-Ash'arī '*ulamā*' in making a petition against the persecution of Ash'arīs, warning that those who were against the Ash'arīs were also against *Ahl al-Sunnah*, because Ash'arī's teaching was nothing but that of *Ahl al-Sunnah*.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, V, 54-55.

⁷⁰ Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa Ikhtilāf al-Musallīn* (al-Qāhīrah: Maktabat al-Nahdhah al-Misriyah, 1945) I, 202. See also Qassim al-Samarrai, *The Theme*, 53.

⁷¹ For detailed information and critical information about the condemnation of the Shāfi'i-Ash'arīs, see al-Naqīb, "Nizām al-Mulk," I, 168-184.

When this petition did not succeed, al-Qushayrī wrote *Shikāyat Ahl al-Sunnah bi Hikāyah mā Nālahum min al-Mihnah* in which he complained that the Ash'arīs were being persecuted, rejected allegations of heresy and asked Tughrul to stop this inquisition.⁷² Unfortunately, this effort also failed. Consequently, his plea went unheeded. Eventually, al-Qushayrī and his students were expelled from that city. He moved to Baghdād where he delivered a speech before an audience that included the caliph, al-Qā'im. The caliph admired al-Qushayrī's teachings and allowed him to return to Nīshāpūr, but instead al-Qushayrī went to Tūs together with his family where he took up residence up to the time of Alp Arsalān's regime.⁷³

In 451/1059 the second wave of persecutions began. This time, al-Qushayrī and other leading figures of the Ash'arīs were arrested on the basis of an official letter from Tughrul. Al-Qushayrī was jailed for more than a month, while many leading Ash'arīs went into hiding, some emigrating to Hijāz and some to 'Irāq.⁷⁴

Al-Qushayrī returned from his pilgrimage (in 456/1063) to Nīshāpūr where he spent the last decade of his life and where he passed away on a Sunday morning, the 16th of Rabī' al-'Akhīr in 465/1072.⁷⁵ His grave was in the *madrasah* beside Abū 'Alī Al-Daqqāq's.⁷⁶

⁷² Muhammad Hasan, "Introduction," 26.

⁷³ 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Dawūdī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, I, 242. See also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 274-275.

⁷⁴ Al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, II, 270-271.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-Qunfud, *al-Wafayāt* (Beyrūt: al-Maktab al-Tijārī li al-Tiba'ah wa al-Nashr wa al-Tauzī', 1971), 252. Al-Khwānsārī, *Faḍāḥ*, V, 96. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beyrūt: Dā Sadr, 1966), X, 88.

⁷⁶ Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 276. See also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, XII, 114.

AL-HUJWIRI'S LIFE

AL-Hujwīrī's full name is Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Ghaznawī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī. In the manuscripts of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* which are available in Vienna, Bodleian and Berlin, his full name is Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. Abū 'Alī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī.⁷⁷ In Rieu's copy of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, his name is 'Alī b. 'Uthmān Abī 'Alī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī.⁷⁸ On the last page of Lahore edition of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, al-Hujwīrī is named Hadrat-i Dātā Ganj-basksh 'Alī al-Hujwīrī.⁷⁹ Indeed, in his *Kashf al-Mahjūb* he called himself 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī.

He was born in Hujwīr, a suburb of Ghazna in today's Afghanistan.⁸⁰ It is located in the land of Khurasān that stretched up to the Indian border.⁸¹ Unfortunately, there is no exact information about the date of his birth. Nicholson believes that he was born either in the last decade of the tenth century or the first decade of the eleventh century.⁸² We also have no detailed information about al-Hujwīrī's childhood. All we know is that he was raised by his own parents and that he grew up in a very religious family known for its *zuhd* (asceticism), and *taqwā* (piousness).⁸³

⁷⁷ See Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Library of the India office* (Oxford: Printed For The India Office by H Hart, 1903-1937), no. 1773. Both Jullāb and Hujwīr were two suburbs of Ghazna. See al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, XVII.

⁷⁸ See Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of The Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1879-83), I, 343.

⁷⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, XVII. See also Hidayet Hosain, "Hudjwīrī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, new edition (1971).

⁸⁰ See al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, xv.

⁸¹ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 201.

⁸² Al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, xix.

⁸³ See al-Hujwīrī, A, Is'ād's introduction, 51. This information is based on *Safinat al-Auliya'* by Dārā Shukūh.

He received his basic religious education from his parents and went to sūfī lectures together with his father.⁸⁴ He studied sūfism under Abū al-Faḍl Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Khuttālī⁸⁵ and Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Muhammad al-ʿAshqānī (according to some Scholars al-Shaqānī, referring to a village near Nīshāpūr).⁸⁶ He also received instruction from Abū al-Qāsim al-Kurrahānī,⁸⁷ In addition, he attended the circle of Abū Ahmad al-Mudaffar b. Ahmad b. Hamdān who was known as al-Sayyid al-Imām.⁸⁸

Al-Hujwīrī's chain of transmission (*silsilah*) starts from *tābiʿīn* (the followers of the prophet) to Dawūd al-Tāʿī to Maʿrūf al-Karhī to al-Sarī to al-Junayd. From al-Junayd, al-Hujwīrī has two chains. The first moves from al-Junayd to Shiblī to al-Husrī to al-Khuttālī to al-Hujwīrī. The second is transmitted from al-Junayd to Abū ʿAlī al-Rūdbārī (d. 322/934) to Abū ʿAlī al-Kātib (d. 340/951) to Abū ʿUthmān al-Maghribī (d. 373/983) to Abū al-Qāsim al-Kurrahānī to al-Hujwīrī.⁸⁹

As mentioned in the introduction, al-Hujwīrī was also influenced by the writings of sūfis like al-Sarrāj, al-Qushayrī, and al-Sulamī. It should be noted that he showed great respect for Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr. This can be inferred from several passages in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, such as his statement that Abū Saʿīd was

the sultan of his age and the ornament of the mystic Path. All his contemporaries were subject to him, some through their sound perception, and some through their excellent belief, and some through the strong influence of

⁸⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, A, Isʿād's introduction, 51.

⁸⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 166.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 168. See also Nicholson's preface, xvii.

⁸⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 169. See also ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns min Hadarāt al-Quds* (Tihārān: Kitāb Furūshī-i Saʿdī, 1900), 316-317.

⁸⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 171.

⁸⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, A, Isʿād's introduction, 59-61.

their spiritual feelings. He was versed in the different branches of science.⁹⁰

Al-Hujwīrī seems to have had an unpleasant experience in marriage. This notion can be inferred from his own explanation. He said:

After God had preserved me for eleven years from the dangers of matrimony, it was my destiny to fall in love with the description of a woman whom I had never seen, and during a whole year my passion so absorbed me that my religion was near being ruined, until at last God in His bounty gave protection to my heart and mercifully delivered me.⁹¹

Al-Hujwīrī was a Sunni Hanafī.⁹² He was considered a prominent Hanafī sūfī master, thus refuting the notion that Hanafīs, due to their rational tendencies, tended to oppose sūfīs teachings. He succeeded in reconciling sūfism with *fiqh*, and bridged the gap between the doctrine of annihilation (*fanā'*) and his theological doctrine.

According to Is'ād, al-Hujwīrī was undoubtedly loyal to the Ghaznavids. Thus, when the latter were defeated by the Saljūqs and Sultan Mas'ūd took refuge with his political allies in India, al-Hujwīrī also went to the same country.⁹³

In his *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, al-Hujwīrī mentions that he travelled to several places: Adharbayjān,⁹⁴ the tomb of Abū Yazīd al-Bastāmī at Bastām,⁹⁵ Damascus,⁹⁶ Bayt al-

⁹⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 164.

⁹¹ Ibid., 364.

⁹² C.E Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 174. See also Hidayet Hosain, "Hudjwīrī."

⁹³ See al-Hujwīrī, A, Is'ād's introduction, 18.

⁹⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 57 and 410.

⁹⁵ For Abū Yazid's biography, see Gerhard Böwering, "Bestāmī", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* iv (1989), 183-186.

⁹⁶ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 68.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 94, 167 and 343.

Jinn in Syria,⁹⁷ Tūs, Uzkanḍ,⁹⁸ the tomb of Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr in Mīhanah,⁹⁹ Merv,¹⁰⁰ Jabal al-Buttam to the east of Samarqand.¹⁰¹ He stayed in Iraq for sometime where he became rich at first, but later fell into debt.¹⁰²

There is no exact information about the date of al-Hujwīrī's death. According to Bakhtāvar Khān's *Riyād al-Auliya'*, as reported by Rieu, al-Hujwīrī died in 456 or 464.¹⁰³ Both Rieu and Nicholson, however, question these dates. In addition, Nicholson suggests that al-Hujwīrī died between 465 and 469 for two reasons. The first reason is that in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, al-Hujwīrī mentions al-Qushayrī's name followed by the phrase: "*rahmat Allāh 'Alayh*", the phrase usually following the name of one who has died. This means that *Kashf al-Mahjūb* would have been written after the death of al-Qushayrī. The second reason is that al-Kurrakānī, who died in 469,¹⁰⁴ was still alive when *Kashf al-Mahjūb* was composed.¹⁰⁵ From these reasons Nicholson concludes that al-Hujwīrī died between 465 and 469.¹⁰⁶ Is'ād, however, does not agree with Nicholson's conclusion. Is'ād argues that the phrase *rahmat Allāh 'Alayh* after al-Qushayrī's name could not become an argument to conclude that al-Qushayrī had passed away when *Kashf al-Mahjūb* was written. Because al-Hujwīrī's name in *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is also sometimes followed with the phrase *rahmat*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 401.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 407.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ See Rieu, *Catalogue*, I, 343. See also Ethé, *Catalogue*, no. 1773.

¹⁰⁴ 'Abd al-Hayī, *Shadharāt*, III, 334.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 161 and 169.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, xviii-xix.

*Allāh 'Alayh.*¹⁰⁷ Is'ād believes that the most accurate date for the death of al-Hujwīrī is 465. This date can be found in each of the three Persian poems which are hung on the wall of al-Hujwīrī's tomb at Lahore. The first poem was written by Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī (d. 633/1236), the second was written by al-Jāmī (d 898/1494) and the third was written by M. Iqbal (d.1357/1938).¹⁰⁸ It seems to me that Is'ād's claim is not convincing enough for the poems are only showing that their authors believed that al-Hujwīrī died in 465. This is the first reason. The second reason is that the earliest poem was written by Mu'īn al-Dīn who died in 633/1236, this means that the earliest poem was written more than a century and a half after the death of al-Hujwīrī. I am inclined to believe that al-Hujwīrī's death could not have occurred before 440 (the date of Abū Sa'īd death) for al-Hujwīrī visited the tomb of Abū Sa'īd. It may well have occurred considerably later but no certainty about the date can be gained from the available sources.

Al-Hujwīrī seems to have composed a number of works: *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is one of the last of his works. According to Is'ād, al-Hujwīrī's works are twelve,¹⁰⁹ but from his *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, we know that al-Hujwīrī composed only nine books excluding *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the only one which was preserved.¹¹⁰

In conclusion, the foregoing survey indicates that there are differences and similarities between al-Qushayrī's background and al-Hujwīrī's. They both lived in the same period and followed al-Junayd's school. However, al-Qushayrī was a Sunni Shāfi'ī Ash'arīte who, besides being a sūfī master, also excelled in other fields of Islamic thought such as tradition, exegesis and theology. Al-Hujwīrī, on the other

¹⁰⁷ See al-Hujwīrī, E, 7. See also al-Hujwīrī, A, 197.

¹⁰⁸ For the poems, see al-Hujwīrī, A, Is'ād's introduction, 86-87.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 97-104.

¹¹⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, Nicholson's preface, xx.

hand, was a Sunni Hanafī who devoted his career entirely to sūfism from an early age. Whereas al-Qushayrī seems to have had reservations about Abū Sa'īd, Al-Hujwīrī, on the contrary considered him "the sultan of his age and the ornament of the mystic path".

CHAPTER TWO

MAQAMAT (STATIONS) AND AHWAL (STATES)

The word *maqām* means place of standing. It is often translated as "station". In the Qur'ān, this word occurs many times with the meaning "place" in either an abstract or a concrete sense (al-Qur'ān, 2:125, 17:79, 19:73, 28:39, 37:164, 44:51, 55:46). In *sūfism*, this word denotes the "place" of the servant before his God and the process or the necessary step of spiritual purification for obtaining the divine illumination. It is a process of the training (*riyādah*) and self-mortification (*mujāhadah*)¹ which must be done for spiritual purification.² For the *sūfī* who wants to reach a station above must maintain the station below.³

For al-Ghazālī, all of the religion's stations (*maqāmāt al-dīn*) are composed of three matters: "knowledges" (*ma'ārif*), the states (*ahwāl*) and the acts (*amāl*). The knowledges are the basis of the states (*ahwāl*). The states bring about the acts. The knowledges are like the trees, and the states are like the branches, and the acts are like the fruits.⁴ From this point of view, it can be understood why the the doctrine of station (*maqām*) and state (*hāl*) in almost all *sūfī* treatises is always inseparable from virtues (*fadā'il al-'amal*).⁵

¹ Abū Nasr 'Abd Allāh al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb - al-Luma'*, ed. with critical notes, abstract of contents, glossary, and indices by R.A. Nicholson (Leyden. E J. Brill, 1914), 41

² L. Gardet, "Hāl," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (1971)

³ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Spiritual States in *sūfism*," *Sūfī Essays* (New York: State University Press, 1991), 75.

⁴ Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Misr: Maktabat al-Tijāriyah al-Kubrā, n.d.), IV, 62. See also Yūsuf Tāhā Zaydan, *al-Tariq al-Sūfī* (Beyrūt. Dār al-Jil, 1991), 77. See also Nasr, "The Spiritual." 73.

According to Ibn Qayyim, the *maqāmāt* as a whole might be divided into three steps. The first is the step of preparation which may also be called the step of "waking up" (*yaqzah*) in which the *sūfis* should fulfill religious duties, always remember God and also purify their souls. The second is the step of thinking (*tafkīr*) that guides the *sūfī* to success in his journey. It requires patience and good preparation, otherwise the *sūfī* will go astray. The final step is contemplation (*mushāhadah*) or vision (*basīrah*) where the *sūfī's* heart is illuminated by The Light by which he knows the reality (*haqīqah*) of the prophet's messages.⁶ In other words, these steps are a process of purification that begin with the process of cleaning away the rubbish and dust (*takhallī*) and then moving on to the process of polishing and decorating (*tahallī*), and finally, the soul becomes pure and experiences the manifestation of God (*tajallī*).⁷

To purify the soul means to transform *al-nafs al-ammārah bi al-sū* (the soul

⁵ Nasr, "Spiritual." 70.

⁶ Ibn Qayyim al-Jauzīyah, *Madārij al-Sālikīn bayn Manāzil Iyyak na'bud wa Iyyak nasta'in* (Misr: Dār al-Kutub, 1956), I, 123-124. For the originality of this division see al-Ansārī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, ed. and translated by S. De Laugier De Beaurecueil O.P. (al-Qāhirah: al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī al-Faransī Li al-'Athār al-Sharqīyah, 1962), 4-6. Each of the stations are also divided into three levels. The first is the level of common people. The second is for the seeker (*sālik*) that becomes the middle degree. The last is for those who belong to the adepts. See al-Ansārī, *Manāzil*, 6. According to *sūfī* doctrine, seeking reality is as difficult as searching for the precious pearl at the bottom of the ocean. Whosoever wants to get it, should ride a boat (*sharī'ah*) upon the ocean and then dive to the bottom of the ocean (*tarīqah*) and then, finally, the precious pearl (*haqīqah*) can be obtained. See Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, *Risālat al-Safīnah*, ed. and collected by Fritz Meier. The text is included in Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā's *Kitāb Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawā'ih al-Jalāl* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1957), 282. See also Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī, *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Tarīq al-Auliya'*: The text is included in *Kifāyat al-Atqiyā' wa Minhāj al-Asfiyā'* of Dimyātī (Indonesia: Dār lhyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah n.d.), verses 6-7. See also Nawawī al-Bantanī, *Salālim al-Fudalā'* (Indonesia: Dār lhyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, n.d.), 8-9. As an additional reference see Sri Mulyati, "Sūfism In Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawī al-Bantanī's Salālim al-Fudalā'." (M.A. Thesis McGill University, 1992), 62.

⁷ For further explanation about, *takhallī*, *tahallī* and *tajallī*, see al-Hujwīrī, E, 389, see also al-Hujwīrī, A, 633-634.

which caused the badness) into *al-nafs al-mutma'innah* (the tranquil soul) through performing the virtues (*al-fadā'il*) and self-mortification (*mujāhadah*). By self-mortification the soul should become free from its illnesses and through performing the virtues the soul is transferred into the nature of virtue itself.⁸ As a result of this effort, the soul can return to his/her home where he/she, according to al-Junayd, is "to be found and to find." This is the true home for sūfis that every soul yearns to enter.⁹

Like the word *maqām*, *hāl* is used by sūfis to indicate the condition of spiritual feeling. This word, in sūfism, is often translated by the word "state".¹⁰ Theoretically, whenever God's servant comes to Him through the performing of virtuous deeds, God would be manifest in his heart.¹¹ As a result, the heart feels both fear and hope or contraction and expansion or awe or intimacy. These spiritual conditions are called "states" (*ahwāl*).¹²

⁸ Nasr, "The Spiritual," 70.

⁹ See Margaret Isabel Jones, "The Concept of Mithāq in al-Junayd's Theology" (M.A. Thesis McGill University, 1979), 76. See also 'Alī Hassan Abdel Kader, *The Life, Personality And Writings of al-Junayd* (London. Luzac & Company Ltd., 1962), 40.

¹⁰ L. Gardet, "Hāl." According to the prophetic tradition state is the prophet's *haqīqah* (reality). Prophet said. "The *sharī'ah* are my words (*aqwālī*), the *tariqa* are my actions (*a'mālī*), and *haqīqa* is my interior state (*ahwālī*)" See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1975) 99.

¹¹ This is the notion of a *hadīth al-Qudsī*: "God said...If he (servant) comes as near to Me as the length of a hand, I would come to him in the length of an arm. If he comes near to Me in the length of an arm, I shall come to him with outstretched arms. If he comes to me on foot, I will hasten to him." See Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī bi-sharh Sahīh al-Bukhārī* (Beyrūt. Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1390), XIII, 384.

¹² According to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, *maqāmāt* are spiritual stations where the sūfis take a rest to prepare their further spiritual journey. *Ahwāl* are their means of transportation, as a bird uses its wings for flying. See Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, *Kitāb Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawā'ih al-Jalāl*, ed. by Fritz Meier (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH., 1957), 41.

Many *sūfis* have made distinction between *maqām* and *hāl* from literal angles; For them, *hāl* is called a state (*al-hāl*) for its switching (*li-tahawwulih*). While *maqām* is called station (*al-maqām*) for its permanence and settling (*li-thubūtih wa istiqrārih*).¹³ Therefore, *maqām* is permanent while *hāl* is always changing. However, there were different opinions on this point, as will be discussed later.¹⁴

Almost all *sūfis* agree that the difference between state and station is that state is a gift that is received from God, while the station is acquired and can only be obtained through great effort.¹⁵ In other words, the possessor of the station is active, while the owner of the state is passive in his own state. This difference, however, is only with regard to the theoretical aspects, and does not affect practice¹⁶ for, according to Suhrawardī, state and station are inseparable. He argues that both state and station have two sides: i.e. given (*mawāhib*) and earned (*makāsib*). The thing which is earned (*maqām*) is encompassed by the gift, while the gift (*hāl*) is filled with the acquired thing.¹⁷ Related to this notion, al-Kalābādhī says: "Every station has a beginning and an end: and between these two are the various states."¹⁸

There is little agreement among *sūfis* with regard to the number of stages

¹³ 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd Allāh (sic) al-Suhrawardī, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1966), 470. As an additional reference see 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt* (Beirut: 'Alam al-Kutub, 1987), 469.

¹⁴ See my discussion, 39 and 64-65.

¹⁵ Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 42. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf, wa 'alayhā hawāmish min sharh Zakariyā al-Ansārī* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1957), 32; al-Hujwīrī, E, 181; al-Hujwīrī, A, 409.

¹⁶ Darshan Singh, "Attitudes of al-Junayd and al-Hallāj Towards The *Sunna* and *Ahwāl* and *Maqāmāt*," *Islamic Culture* LVIII (July 1982), 221.

¹⁷ Suhrawardī, *'Awārif*, 470 - 472.

¹⁸ Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī, *al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf*, ed. Mahmūd Amīn al-Nawāwī (al-Qāhirah: al-Kulīyah al-Azharīyah, 1969), 106.

between God and His servants. Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj in his *al-Luma'* mentioned seven stations and ten states.¹⁹ Al-Makkī counted the number of stations (*maqāmāt*) into nine with no special discussion of the states (*ahwā*).²⁰ By Abū Sa'īd b Abī al-Khayr's and al-Hujwīrī's count the number of stations comes to the same as the number of the prophets.²¹ Suhrawardī, in his *'Awārif*, only mentions ten stations²² and states that every station has a state because it is nourishment for the station.²³ Al-Ansārī, in his *Manāzil*, mentions one hundred stations with ten classifications, but has no section on states.²⁴ Al-Ghazālī, however, mentions the seven seas that should be crossed to reach *fanā'* (annihilation), al-Simnānī (d.737/1336) describes the seven stages of "the prophets of your being",²⁵ while Ibn 'Arabī encounters seven prophets in his *mi'rāj*.²⁶ Farid al-Din al-'Attār, according to 'Afīfī, illustrates stations (*maqāmāt*)

¹⁹ According to al-Sarrāj, repentance (*taubah*), abstinence (*wara'*), asceticism (*zuhd*), poverty (*faqr*), patience (*sabr*), trust in God (*tawakkul*) and satisfaction (*ridā*) are stations. While contemplation (*murāqabah*), proximity (*qurb*), love (*mahabbah*), fear (*khawf*) and hope (*rajā'*), yearning (*shauq*), intimacy (*uns*), tranquility (*itma'nīnah*), vision (*mushāhadah*) and certainty (*yaqīn*) are states. See al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 43-72.

²⁰ These stations are *taubah* (repentance) *sabr* (patience), *shukr* (thankfulness), *rajā'* (hope), *khawf* (fear), *zuhd* (asceticism), *tawakkul* (trust in God), *ridā* (satisfaction), and *mahabbah* (love). See Abū Tālib Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmalāt al-Mahbūb* (Misr: al-Matba'ah al-Maymuniyah, 1306), I, 178.

²¹ Abū Sa'īd's *Maqāmāt-i Arba'in-i*, translated by Hossein Nasr, "The Spiritual," 78-83. For study of Abū Sa'īd, see Fritz Meier, *Abū Sa'īd-i Abū l-Hayr. Wirklichkeit und Legende* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976). Meier questions the authenticity of Abū Sa'īd's *Maqāmāt-i Arba'in*.

²² Al-Suhrawardī *'Awārif*, 475 - 476.

²³ *Ibid.*, 472.

²⁴ See al-Ansārī, *Manāzil*, 3.

²⁵ Hermann Landolt, "Simnānī on Wahdat al-Wujūd," *Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy And Mysticism*, edited by M. Mohaghegh and Hermann Landolt (Tehran: The Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, Tehran Branch, 1971), 95-96. Henry Corbin, *En Islam iranien, aspect spirituels et philosophiques* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1972), 3, 290-291. See also Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Spiritual," 77.

as seven valleys that should be passed by the group of birds that yearn to find the divine bird, *Sī murgh*²⁷ and the states (*ahwāl*) are their impressions of the journey.²⁸ and Abū Bakr al-Kattānī (d. 324/934) puts the number into thousands of stations of "light and darkness".²⁹ Abu al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī (d. 882/1477) mentions fourteen stations³⁰ and Rūmī sometimes enumerates "18,000 worlds" and on another occasion counts 100,000 spiritual stages.³¹ Ayn al-Qudāt counts 70,000 veils.³²

Historically, the concept of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* may have emerged in the first Islamic century. The first figure who "talked about" these two important words is said to have been 'Alī b. 'Abī Tālib: when he was asked about *īmān*, he answered that it is based on four pillars; patience (*sabr*), certainty (*yaqīn*), justice ('*adl*) and fighting (*jihād*) and each of the pillars has ten stations.³³ According to some, the first figure

²⁶ Muhy al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Isrā' llā al-Maqām al-Asrā Au Kitāb al-Mi'rāj*, ed. by Su'ād al-Hakīm (Bairūt: Dandarah, 1988), 55-75.

²⁷ These are the valley of the quest, the love, the knowledge, of the detachment, of the unity, of the bewilderment and stupefaction and the poverty and annihilation. 'Attār, Farīd al-Dīn, *The Conference of The Birds, a sūfī allegory, abridged version of Farī al-Dīn 'Attār's Mantiq al-Tayr*, by R. P. Masani (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), 85-124.

²⁸ Abū al-'Alā 'Afīfī, *al-Tasawwuf al-Thaurah al-Rūhīyah fī al-Islām* (Iskandarīyah: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963), 136-137.

²⁹ Al-Ansārī *Manāzil*, 2.

³⁰ Abu al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī, *Illumination In Islamic Mysticism*, translated by E. Jabra Jurji (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), 27-29.

³¹ William C. Chittick, *The Sufis Path of Love: the Spiritual Teaching of Rumi* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983) 72-73.

³² According to prophetic tradition, during the *mi'rāj*, there were 70 veils beyond which the Prophet Muhammad was able to go, while Gabriel was unable to enter even beyond the first veil. There is also the *ighānah* tradition in which the Apostle said that his heart was always cloudy until he asked forgiveness of God 70 times everyday. This tradition, according to Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, has the meaning that every day the Prophet ascends from one state to the state above. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32. For more detailed information, see Hermann Landolt, *Nuruddin Isfarayini Le Révélateur des Mystères Traité de Soufisme* (Lagrasse: Editions Verdier, 1986), 111-112.

who distinguished these two terms (*maqāmāt* and *ahwāl*) was Dhū al-Nūn Misrī, (796-861),³⁴ while al-Sarī was the first sūfī who structured the stations (*maqāmāt*) and explained the states (*ahwāl*).³⁵

In regard to the comparison between al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's definition of station (*maqām*), al-Qushayrī holds that

maqām consists of good behavior which the servant realizes by engaging in it, something which he reaches by activities of his own and realizes through some kind of struggle and endurance in painful training. Thus, the *maqām* (station) of each person is the place at which he stays for this and that for which he devotes himself through self-discipline... While the word *muqām* means *iqāmah* (placing something), just as *al-Mudkhal* means *al-Idkhāl* (leading into) and *al-Mukhraj* means *al-Ikhrāj* (leading out). Thus to engage into a station is not sound unless one witnesses God placing him in it (i.e. a particular station) His endeavor must be based on such a foundation.³⁶

Al-Hujwīrī seems to criticize al-Qushayrī by warning against a confusion between *maqām* and *muqām*. He says that, in Arabic, the word *maqām* means *al-qiyām* (standing) and the place of standing, not the place of *al-iqāmah*. While *muqām*, in Arabic, means *al-iqāmah* and the place of *al-iqāmah*.³⁷ Yet al-Hujwīrī's point seems

³³ Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 130.

³⁴ L. Gardet, "Hāl."

³⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 110; al-Hujwīrī, A, 322 and 'Is'ād's introduction, 29.

³⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32. For comparison see also Richard Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben Al-Qušayrīs über das Sufitum* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), 109. On the issue of the passive participle as *masdar mīmī* see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, third edition revised by W. Robertson Smith and M.J. de Goeje (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 129.

³⁷ This point was omitted by R.A. Nicholson. For the reference see al-Hujwīrī, P, 224; al-Hujwīrī, A, 409. According to some dictionaries, the word *maqām* means *majlis* (place), and *maudhū' al-qadamayn* (a place of two feet). See Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad b. Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, (Beyrūt: Dār Sādir, 1956), XII, 506 See also Ahmad Ridā, *Matn al-Lughah Mausū'ah Lughawīyah Hadithīyah* (Beyrūt: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāh, 1960), IV, 675; Tāhir Ahmad al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt 'Alā Tarīqah al-Misbāh al-Munīr wa Asās al-Balāghah* (al-Qāhirah: Matba'at al-Istiqāmah, 1959), III, 638. Louis Ma'lūf, *Al-Munjid fī al-Lughah wa al-Adab wa al-'Ulūm* (Beyrūt: al-Matba'ah al-Katūlikīyah, 1908), 704.

not altogether clear. Perhaps it can be understood in connection with his view that the seeker always remains in his own station from the beginning to the end of his journey as will be seen shortly (see p, 39).

To determine the total number of stations and states in al-Qushayrī's point of view is not easy because of three problems. The first is that al-Qushayrī does not mention these matters as clearly as al-Sarrāj had done. The second is that the distinction between state and station is unclear.³⁸ The third is that if we take the definitions that station is acquired while state is a gift as the basic reference, almost all virtues belong to the stations, as almost all virtues are acquired. To avoid these problems, my approach is to take into account the stations that were clearly stated by al-Qushayrī.

According to al-Qushayrī, repentance (*taubah*) (which is divided into three stages: *taubah*, *inābah* and *aubah*), abstinence (*wara'*), asceticism (*zuhd*), contentment (*qanā'ah*), trust in God (*tawakkul*) (which is also divided into three levels: *tawakkul*, *taslīm* and *tafwīd*),³⁹ and the beginning of *ridā* are stations.⁴⁰

Al-Hujwīrī, on the other hand, holds that the total number of stations is the same as the total number of prophets (more than 124,000) for every prophet elucidates the basis of a different station and its perfection was achieved only by Prophet Muhammad. Nevertheless, al-Hujwīrī does not mention all of the stations. He only mentions part of them. He says that Adam elucidated the station of repentance

³⁸ See my previous discussion, 33-34.

³⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, 32. I do not share the view of Tāhā Zaydān who asserts that Al-Qushayrī's total number of stations is twelve. See Zaydān, *al-Tarīq*, 76. Neither do I share the view of Harun Nasution who says that patience (*sabr*) is a station in al-Qushayrī's point of view. See Harun Nasution, *Misticism Dalam Islam (Tasawwuf/Sufisme)* (Jakarta: Kelompok Diskusi Tentang Agama Islam, 1972), 6.

⁴⁰ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, 89.

(*taubah*), Noah elaborated the station of renunciation (*zuhd*), Abraham presented the station of resignation (*taslīm*), contrition (*inābah*) was Moses' station, sorrow (*huzn*) was David's station, hope (*rajā'*) was Jesus' station, fear (*khauf*) was John's station and praise (*dhikr*) was Muhammad's station.⁴¹ Al-Hujwīrī sometimes also attributes the states to the prophets: the state of *bast* to Jesus, the state of *qabd* to John,⁴² the state of *muhādathah* to Moses and the state of *musāmarah* to Muhammad⁴³

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī are in agreement that the servant is not allowed to ascend from one station to another except by having completed the obligation of the station below. But their further explanations differ, al-Qushayrī points out the hierarchical order in almost all of his stations by saying of those who do not possess the station of contentment (*qanā'ah*), that their trust in God (*tawakkul*) is not valid and of those who do not have the station of trust in God, that their resignation (*taslīm*) is not valid. Similarly, those who possess contrition (*inābah*) without repentance (*taubah*) and asceticism (*zuhd*) without abstinence (*wara'*) are not sound.⁴⁴ While al-Hujwīrī explains only that *inābah* without *taubah* is invalid just like *tawakkul* without *zuhd*.⁴⁵ For al-Qushayrī, *tawakkul* is based on *qanā'ah*, while for al-Hujwīrī, *tawakkul* is based on *zuhd*.

Unlike al-Qushayrī, for al-Hujwīrī, passing from one station to others is not real but it is only taking the benefits of these stations. He says that anyone who desires God has a station which becomes the means for his searching. Though the seeker has a share in all stations and passes through each of them, he basically rests or

⁴¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371; al-Hujwīrī, A, 616.

⁴² Al-Hujwīrī, E, 376; al-Hujwīrī, A, 620.

⁴³ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 380; al-Hujwīrī, A, 625.

⁴⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32.

⁴⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 181; al-Hujwīrī, A, 409.

stays in his original own station, for the station belongs to the character or nature (*tarkīb-i jibillat*) not the conduct.⁴⁶ "None of us but hath a certain station" (al-Qur'ān, 37:164).⁴⁷

Moreover, al-Hujwīrī clarifies the relationship between station and *tamkīn* and the difference between them. *Tamkīn* is the residence of the spiritually adept in the abode of perfection in the highest grade. For him, the station is the way, while *tamkīn* is the goal. The only difference between *maqām* and *tamkīn* is that the station (*maqām*) can be passed beyond, but the stage of *tamkīn* cannot be passed for it is the resting place of the seeker where the seeker is either in the stage of *baqā'* (subsistence) or in the state of *fanā'* (annihilation).⁴⁸

Like other sūfis, both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that *hāl* is a gift from God that is placed in man's heart.⁴⁹ But they disagree in identifying *ahwāl*. Al-Qushayrī holds that *huzn*, the end of *ridā*, *mahabbah*, *khawf* and *rajā'*, *uns* and *haybah*, *bast* and *qabd* are states. The states identified by al-Hujwīrī are the end of *ridā*, *mahabbah*, *bast* and *qabd*, *uns* and *haybah*, *lutf* and *qahr*, *musāmarah* and *muhādathah* and *wajd* and *wujūd*.

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī have the same discussion as to whether a state is permanent or not. They say that some sūfis asserted that states are permanent because if they cannot be permanent, they are only occurrences (*lawā'ih*). Related to this notion, Abū 'Uthmān said that "During forty years God never put me in a state

⁴⁶ In Nicholson's translation the word *jibillat* was substituted by the word *hīla* "design". This substitution, however, leads to misunderstanding. For the reference, see al-Hujwīrī, P, 484; al-Hujwīrī, A, 616.

⁴⁷ See al-Hujwīrī, E, 370-371, al-Hujwīrī, A, 616.

⁴⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 373; al-Hujwīrī, A, 618.

⁴⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 181; al-Hujwīrī, A, 409; Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32.

that I disliked."⁵⁰ Al-Muhāsibī, as reported by al-Hujwīrī, argues that love, longing, contraction and expansion are states in love if these states are never permanent, the lover would not be a lover for the name of lover is only properly applied to one who has the attribute of love.⁵¹ Some others, however, held that states are temporal and never permanent. Al-Junayd argues by saying that "States are like flashes of lightning: their permanence is merely a suggestion of the lower soul (*hadīth nafs*)" One of the *sūfis* also said "States are like their names i.e. they vanish almost as soon as they descend (*tahillu*) on the heart"⁵² Al-Hujwīrī explains that if the state may be an attribute (because of its permanence), the object of the state "must be more perfect than the attributes themselves." This is, however, impossible.⁵³

Unlike al-Hujwīrī, al-Qushayrī explains the process of becoming of the state. He says that when the various experiences (*tawāriq*) that become nourishment of the state are permanent, they become a state. Otherwise, it is only *al-bawādh* (intuitive impulses).⁵⁴ Because these various experiences always happen and they are inherent in the state, whenever these experiences are stable they become another state (a state above the state). As a result, the owner of the state ascends to the second state, and whenever he ascends, the state below, for him, becomes a *ghayn*

⁵⁰ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32. See also al-Hujwīrī, E, 181-182, al-Hujwīrī, A, 410.

⁵¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 181; al-Hujwīrī, A, 409.

⁵² See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 181-182, al-Hujwīrī, A, 409-410. Al-Qushayrī does not identify al-Junayd.

⁵³ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 182; al-Hujwīrī, A, 410.

⁵⁴ Al-Qāshānī explains that *al-bawādh* comes accidentally from the invisible, "they suddenly seize the Heart and induce either Expansion or Contraction." See 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, *Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyah*, ed. Muhammad Kamāl Ibrāhīm Ja'far (Misr: al-Hay'ah al-Misrīyah al-Ammah li-al-Kitāb, 1981), 38. See also *A Glossary of Sūfī Technical Terms*, translated by Mabil Safwat (London: The Octagon Press Ltd., 1991), 11.

(clouding).⁵⁵ These processes, however, are never ending since the real union (*wusūl*) to God is impossible. Therefore, the seeker (*sālik*) is always ascending from one state to another state. This is, according to Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, the meaning of the prophet's tradition. The Prophet said: "Verily my heart is clouded until I ask God forgiveness seventy times every day."⁵⁶ In the light of this tradition, al-Hujwīrī points out that the veils which cover the heart are of two kinds: the veil of covering (*hijāb raynī*) which is impossible to be removed for it is an essence and the veil of clouding (*hijāb ghaynī*) which is removable since it belongs to the attribute. Al-Junayd said: "*Rayn* belongs to the class of abiding things and *ghayn* to the class of transient things."⁵⁷

Unlike his predecessor, al-Hujwīrī elaborates on the relationship between state and *waqt* ('moment', 'instant'). *Waqt* is an important sūfī term. But the 'ulamā' have different opinions on its definition. Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq claims that "*waqt* is that (feeling) in which thou art" (*mā anta fīh*).⁵⁸ Others say that *waqt* is something which occurs in between the past and the future.⁵⁹ In sūfī terms,

"*waqt* is that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future, as, for example, when an influence from God descends into his soul and makes his heart collected (*mujtamr*) he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come."⁶⁰

Thus, a sūfī is also called the 'son of moment' (*ibn waqtih*).⁶¹ For al-Hujwīrī, these

⁵⁵ Related to this notion, there is an important saying that the goodnesses of the pious people (*abrār*) are the badnesses of the favoured people (*muqarrabīn*).

⁵⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32.

⁵⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 5.

⁵⁸ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 31; al-Hujwīrī, E, 370; al-Hujwīrī, A, 615.

⁵⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 31.

⁶⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 367.

two terms (*waqt* and *hāl*) are interrelated because *hāl* is to *waqt* what spirit is to body, i.e. the value of the "instant" depends on the state (*hāl*). Through *hāl* the "owner of *waqt*" becomes stable and authentic. The "owner of *waqt*" is dependent on the movement of the Beloved; he is sorrowful when the Beloved is absent and happy when the Beloved is present such as Jacob, the owner of *waqt*, had felt it (al-Qur'an, 12:96). On the other hand, the owner of *hāl* is independent because he is always in the actual vision (*'iyān*). Like Abraham when he saw star, moon and sun, he knew nothing but God (al-Qur'ān, 6:76).⁶²

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that the ultimate of these spiritual stages (*maqāmāt* and *ahwāl*) is the stage of *tamkīn*, an attribute for the adept people (*ahl al haqā'iq*).⁶³

In conclusion, it can be said that for al-Qushayrī, *maqām* is an acquisition of virtue, but al-Hujwīrī, though he agrees in general with al-Qushayrī, adds an important point. According to him, *maqām* is an inherent quality of the seeker, and a rank of predestination (*maqām ma'lūm*), as symbolized by the prophets. For Al-Qushayrī, *hāl* is a divinely-bestowed feeling. This feeling is at the beginning unstable but then stabilizes. Whenever this feeling is stable, it becomes another state. This endless process is what is known as *taraqqī*. For al-Hujwīrī, however, *hāl* is an element of stability which compounds with the unstable *waqt* ('instant')

⁶¹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 31, see also Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary*, 23.

⁶² Al-Hujwīrī, E, 369-370; al-Hujwīrī, A, 615-616.

⁶³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 41. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371-372, al-Hujwīrī, A, 617. Al-Ghazālī says that after having spiritual ascent, the gnostic people (*al-'ārifīn*) agree that they only know (*ma'rifah*) the True One (*al-Wāhid al-Haqq*). But some of them held that this state (*hāl*) becomes a gnosis of knowledge (*'irfānan 'ilmīyan*), while some of them consider this state as a state of feeling (*hālan dauqīyan*). See Abū Hamīd al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, ed by Abū al-'Alā 'Afīfī (al-Qāhirah: al-Dār al-Qaumīyah li al-Tiba'ah wa al-Nashr, 1964), 57.

TAUBAH (REPENTANCE)

Almost all *sūfis* agree that repentance is the first station.⁶⁴ It literally means "to return", so that, in *sūfism*, *taubah* means to repent from acts of disobedience and to promise not to return to them again, and to return to God. To return to God means to perform good deeds. The Prophet said: "... My servant continues to draw near to Me with supererogatory works so that I shall love him. When I love him I am his hearing with which he hears, his seeing with which he sees, his hand with which he strikes, and his foot with which he walks."⁶⁵

Repentance is an obligation for all Muslims, since no Muslim is able to perform his servanthood to God perfectly; he is not immune from the machinations of the devil as well as his own lower soul's (*nafs*) desire which leads to disobedience.⁶⁶ He who

⁶⁴ Al-Ansārī, however, considers repentance as the second stage. According to him, the first stage is the awakening from the heedlessness (*ghaflah*). See al-Ansārī, *Manāzil*, 6. As an additional reference, see al-Firkarwī, Mahmūd b. Hasan b. Muhammad, *Sharh Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, ed. by S. De Laugier De Beaurecueil O.P. (al-Qāhirah: Matba'at al-Ma'had al-'ilm al-Faransī li al-Athār al-Sharqīyah, 1953), 8. Abū Sa'īd considered repentance as the third station. For him, the first station is intention (*nīyah*). The second is conversion (*inābah*). The third is repentance (*taubah*). See Hossein Nasr in his "The Spiritual," 78.

⁶⁵ Yahyā b Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī, *al-Arba'īn al-Nawawīyah Fī al-Ahādīth al-Sahīh al-Nabawīyah*, translated by Ezzeddin Ibrāhīm and Denys Johnson Davies (Damascus: The Holy Koran Publishing House, 1976), *hadīth*, no., 38. For the same notion, see tradition in Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1980), II, 412, 435, 472, 509, 509, 5024, 534; VI, 256 See also chapter on *Adab* in Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Isma'īl al-Ja'far al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* ('Arabīyah: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Shirkah, 1953), *hadīth*, no., 57. See also Abū al-Husayn Muslim b. al-Hajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, *Sahīh Muslim* ('Arabīyah: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Shirkah, 1955) chapter on *Dhikr hadīth*, no., 20, 21, 22. See also chapter on "*taubah*," *hadīth*, no., 1.

⁶⁶ The obligation of repentance is illustrated in a number of Qur'ānic verses (24:31, 66:8, 2:222). Besides, there are also some prophetic accounts that encourage one to repent. The Prophet said that God loves no one more than a youth who repents. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 45. In another tradition, he also said that the repentance from sin is as if one has not committed the sin. Even the Prophet himself always asked forgiveness from God at least 100 times a day For further elaboration on this discussion see 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Darānī's (d.

denies this point is considered an unbeliever.⁶⁷ For the elected people, *taubah* means to turn away from everything save God.⁶⁸

In regard to the comparison between the discussions of repentance in *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah* and *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, there are six similar points: the examination of repentance's meaning, its requirement, its levels, its ways, the problem as to whether the repentant should forget his sin or not, and discussion of those who commit the sin after repentance.⁶⁹

Like other *sūfis*, both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that the meaning of *taubah* is "to return" from disobedience to obedience. This is the first station (*maqāmāt*) for the seeker (*sālik*). It is of two kinds; *taubah al-'inabah* (repentance of penitence) and *taubah al-istijābah* (repentance of response). The former is for those who repent because of the fear of God's punishment, while the latter is for those who repent out of shame before His generosity.⁷⁰

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī are of the opinion that repentance has three requirements. The first is the contrition over the acts of disobedience. The second is the immediate abandonment of sin through fulfilling the obligation and refraining from

697/1297) elaboration in his *Tahārat al-Qulūb wa al-Khudhū li 'Allām al-Ghuyūb* (Misr: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Aulāduh, 1960), 102-104.

⁶⁷ Al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb*, I, 179.

⁶⁸ Javad Nurbakhsh, *Sufism IV* (London: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publications, 1988), 1. For the original notion see Abū al-Husayn al-Nūrī's saying in al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 44 and also in al-Kalābādihī, *Ta'arruf*, 111.

⁶⁹ In terms of references, almost all the Qur'ānic verses, prophetic traditions, *sūfi* master's traditions and stories are already mentioned in the *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah* except three; the quotation of al-Qur'ān, 50:31, one of al-Junayd's poems and one story.

⁷⁰ In *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah* this tradition is derived from Ibn 'Atā, while in *Kashf al-Mahjūb* it is attributed to Dhū al-Nūn. Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, 47. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 299; al-Hujwīrī, A, 541. See also Nurbakhsh, *Sufism IV*, 19

disobedience. The last is the determination not to sin again.⁷¹ These aspects are reflected in the prophetic tradition: "Contrition is repentance." For, when regret is present in the heart, the second and the third requirements follow simultaneously.⁷²

In terms of the root of repentance, both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī are in agreement that the root of repentance is the awakening of the heart from the sleep of heedlessness (*ghaflah*), man's awareness of his own depravity. This is caused, al-Qushayrī explains, by the heart's listening to the divine voice of reprimand in one's conscience for, according to the prophetic tradition, "God's preacher is in each Muslim's heart."⁷³ By so doing, God will bestow on him repentance and release him from disobedience.⁷⁴

In addition, both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī hold the same view about the causes of remorse and the levels of repentance. For them, the causes of regret are three. Firstly, remorse comes to the heart when the fear of God's punishment overpowers the act of disobedience. Secondly, when the hope of God's reward enters the heart, and one realizes that this reward cannot be obtained through disobedience, he regrets.⁷⁵ The third is shame before God. In this case, the person regrets his own

⁷¹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 45 and also al-Hujwīrī, E, 294; al-Hujwīrī, A, 536. As an additional reference, see Ibn al-Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Tauwābīn*, ed. Khālid 'Abd al-Latīf (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1990), 8. For al-Junayd, the preconditions of repentance are remorse from having committed the sin, abandoning of disobedience and performing restitution for misdeeds (*mazālim*). See Darānī, *Tahārat*, 105, and al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 47.

⁷² See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 45-46 and also al-Hujwīrī, E, 294; al-Hujwīrī, A, 536.

⁷³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 46.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*. See also al-Hujwīrī, E, 295; al-Hujwīrī, A, 537.

⁷⁵ For al-Qushayrī's notion, see the main point of Abū Hafs, Haddād and Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq's stories. Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 46.

weaknesses.⁷⁶

In respect to the levels of repentance, al-Qushayrī quotes his own teacher, Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, to the effect that repentance has three levels: the first level is *taubah*, the second is *inābah* and the last is *aubah*. The first group is for those who repent because of the fear of God's punishment. This is the *mu'min's* attribute (al-Qur'ān, 66:8). The second is for those who repent in the hope of God's reward. This is the level of *awliyā'* (saints) (al-Qur'ān, 50:33). The last class is for those who repent because of shame before God. This is the prophet's attribute (al-Qur'ān, 38:30).⁷⁷ Al-Hujwīrī explains that the first group repent from the wrong thing for the right one (al-Qur'ān, 3:135). The second group repent from the right for the more right (al-Qur'ān, 7:143). They repent not because of sin but from their "own volition (*ikhtiyār*), for in love personal volition is a taint." The third group repent from "selfhood to God." They not only repent from all stations that have been achieved, but also from "being conscious of any 'station' or 'state' whatsoever."⁷⁸ While this explanation adds an element, it is difficult to see why Annemarie Schimmel writes that this division only occurs in al-Hujwīrī. She says

⁷⁶ The notion of Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq's tradition. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 47 and see also al-Hujwīrī, E, 295; al-Hujwīrī, A, 536.

⁷⁷ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 47. This notion is quoted by al-Hujwīrī. See al-Hujwīrī, E, 295; al-Hujwīrī, A, 536. According to Dhū al-Nūn, *taubah* has three levels: The level of the common people, those who repent from the sin. The second is the level of the elected people, those who repent from their headlessness (*ghaflah*). The last is the class of the prophet who repents from his own weaknesses to obtain full perfection. See al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf*, 111. See also Suhrawardī, *Awārif*, 487. As an additional information, the same division also occurs in Ibn 'Arabī and Nawawī al-Bantānī. See Sri Mulyati, "Sūfism." 69. Muhammad Lāhijī divided repentance into four levels: First, to repent from unbelief, the second, to turn away from the prohibition, the third, to repent from bad morality, and the last, to repent from everything other than God. See Nurbakhsh, *Sufism IV*, 11-12, based on the *Sharh-e Golshan-e Rāz* by Muhammad Lāhijī.

⁷⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 297; al-Hujwīrī, A, 539.

In keeping with his inclination to systematization, Hujwīrī speaks of *tauba* as return from great sins to obedience; *ināba* is the return from minor sin to love, and *auḥa* the return from one's self to God. This tripartition is not found elsewhere.⁷⁹

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī also discuss whether one should forget his sin in repentance -this opinion was held by al-Junayd- or one should remember the sin, the opinion which is attributed to Sahl b. 'Abdillāh and al-Sarī. Al-Sarrāj, as quoted by al-Qushayrī, explains the difference by relating the first opinion to the state of gnostics (*muhaqqiqīn*), the second opinion to beginners (*murīdīn*).⁸⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, in addition, explains that

the penitent is a lover, and the lover of God is in contemplation of God, and in contemplation it is wrong to remember sin, for remembrance of sin is a veil between God and those who contemplate Him. This controversy goes back to the difference of opinion concerning mortification (*mujāhadat*) and contemplation (*mushāhadat*)... Those who hold the penitent to be self-dependent regard his forgetfulness of sin as heedlessness, while those who hold that he is dependent on God deem his remembrance of sin to be polytheism.⁸¹

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that repentance is valid even for one who

⁷⁹ Schimmel, *Mystical*, 110.

⁸⁰ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 47, quoting Sarrāj. See also al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 43.

⁸¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 296; al-Hujwīrī, A, 538. For the argument in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, see al-Junayd's statement. Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 47. According to al-Hujwīrī, all mystics have established the necessity of self-mortification for obtaining contemplation (*mushāhadah*). Some of them assert that self-mortification (*mujāhadah*) is *asbāb* (an indirect means) of contemplation. Sahl al-Tustarī, on the other hand, affirms that *mujāhadah* is an *'illah* (direct cause) of contemplation. Others, however, hold that there is no direct cause of union with God for the union with Him is Divine grace (*fadl*). Thus, self-mortification aims "to correct the vices of lower soul, not to attain real proximity, and inasmuch as mortification is referred to Man, while contemplation is referred to God, it is impossible that one should be caused by the other." See al-Hujwīrī, E, 201; al-Hujwīrī, A, 432. For critical study of al-Tustarī's discussion of man's power (heart and lower soul), see Gerhard Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'anic Hermeneutics of the Sūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d.283/896)* (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1980), 241-253.

returns to commit the sin again,⁸² and he gets a reward for his repentance.⁸³ They cite stories which prove that among masters of sūfism there were those who return to commit the sin, but they finally repented and achieved constancy. To support this notion, al-Hujwīrī quotes three stories, two of which have been mentioned in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* as well ; namely the story of Abū 'Amr b. Nujayd (d 366/976) who had the intention of repenting, unfortunately, his heart disobeyed him once more, but then finally he repents again because of the advice given by Abū 'Uthmān. Secondly, the story of a person who disobeys after his repentance and regrets his action, and asks himself whether God would still accept his repentance or not. His question was answered by a voice saying that such kind of repentance is still accepted. This story was reported by Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq.⁸⁴

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī quote Abū Hafs al-Haddād's statement that "Man has no part in repentance, because repentance is from God to Man, not from Man to God." Al-Hujwīrī concludes that repentance is God's gift, not the result of acquisition.⁸⁵ In addition, he also explains that "repentance is a Divine strengthening

⁸² Regarding repentance, al-Makkī classifies people into four groups. The first class includes those who have tranquil souls (*nafs mutma'innah*) and are never tempted to commit sin after repentance. This class is called *al-sābiqīn* (the preceding). The second level is the class of *muqtasidīn* (moderate). This includes those who possess *nafs lawwāmah* (the blaming soul), who commit the sin and repent, but their souls sometimes leads them to commit the sin again. The third includes those whose souls are *musawwlah* (the enticing soul) that leads them to vacillate between good and bad deeds. These people commit sin and repent, and then commit it again and repent. This is the notion of Qur'ānic verse 35:32. The fourth class are those who commit the sin and do not feel remorse over their disobedience. These people are called *fāsiq* (sinful) and their souls are of the type that inspire evil (*ammārah*). This is the notion of Qur'ānic verse 12:53. For al-Makkī see *Qūt al-Qulūb*, I, 193.

⁸³ Al-Qushayrī suggest that such people should not lose the hope of being able to repent.

⁸⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 46, al-Hujwīrī, E, 298; al-Hujwīrī, A, 540. The difference is that in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, al-Hujwīrī does not mention the narrator of the second story.

⁸⁵ See Abū Hafs's saying in al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 48. See also

and sin is a corporeal act: When contrition (*nadāmat*) enters the heart the body has no means of expelling it; and as in the beginning no human act can expel repentance, so in the end no human act can maintain it."⁸⁶

I should emphasize that although the above points are mentioned in both *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* and *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the manner of discussion between them is not the same. In *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, the discussion of *taubah* occurs independently, while in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the discussion occurs in the chapter on purification (*tahārah*), since repentance is the first step of spiritual purification, the same as the purification with water in worship. In *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, the discussion occurs in the style of reporting a number of Qur'ānic verses, traditions, and statements of the masters and the stories, while in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the points are arranged systematically.

There is an important point that occurs only in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, namely a special discussion about the steps of preparation for repentance. Al-Qushayrī states that one should stay away from everything that causes, stimulates and attracts one to commit a sin. Besides, he should contemplate in order to strengthen his fear and hope toward God. By so doing, it is assumed that one is able to fulfill his intention of being repentant and stop his acts of disobedience. Thus, he is able to truly repent.⁸⁷

WARA: (ABSTINENCE)

The station of abstinence (*wara'*) cannot be separated from the station of

al-Hujwīrī, E, 299; al-Hujwīrī, A, 541.

⁸⁶ al-Hujwīrī, E, 297; al-Hujwīrī, A, 539.

⁸⁷ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 46.

asceticism (*zuhd*) for abstinence is the basis of asceticism (*zuhd*).⁸⁸ According to a tradition, abstinence is the foundation of religion.⁸⁹ In another tradition, the Prophet said: "Be an abstinent person, you would be the best worshipper (to God) among human kind." He also said that the best Muslim is one who leaves aside something for which he has no need.⁹⁰

With regard to this doctrine, al-Qushayrī cites prophetic and *sūfī* traditions as well as some stories reflecting the practice of abstinence in life.⁹¹ His restatement, in general, could be classified into three important points; namely, the denotation, the divisions and the benefits of abstinence.

Compared to Sarrāj, Al-Qushayrī does not systematically divide *wara'* into three divisions.⁹² However, examples of each may be found in various ways. Related to the first stage, al-Qushayrī states that abstinence (*wara'*) is to abstain from dubious

⁸⁸ Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 46. See also Suhrawardī, *'Awārif*, 489.

⁸⁹ Suhrawardī, *'Awārif*, 488. In *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, this tradition is narrated by al-Hasan al-Basrī from "one among 'Alī's sons." Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 54.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, 53.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, 54. There were stories quoted by al-Qushayrī to show how the *sufī* masters practice abstinence. We might see, for example, the story of Mālik b Dīnār who lived in Basrah for forty years but abstained from eating the famous Basrah date. Another story is the story of Ibrāhīm b Adham who abstained from drinking the water of Zamzam because he did not have a bucket to draw the water from the well. Besides, there is also the story that al-Muhāsibī, whenever he took a dubious thing, hit his head. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 54.

⁹² Al-Sarrāj divided abstinence (*wara'*) into three stages: the level of the common people, the stage of the elected people and the ecstatic people. The first is for those who abstain from dubious things that are neither clearly lawful nor clearly unlawful. The second is for those who abstain from whatever is doubted by the inner heart. The third is for those who abstain from everything that detracts attention from God, al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 44-46. As additional reference, for al-Ghazālī, the abstinence from the unlawful is called *wara' al-'udūl*, from dubious thing is called *wara' al-sālihīn*, from *halal* is called *wara' al-muttaqīn* and from everything save God is called *wara' al-siddīqīn*. See al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, II, 96-98. This division is followed by Nawawī. See Mulyati, "Sūfism," 63.

things.⁹³ Ibrāhīm b. Adhām said that abstinence is the abstaining from the dubious that is neither clearly lawful nor unlawful as well as to avoid the useless and the superfluous things.⁹⁴ The second stage of abstinence may be implied by Sufyān al-Thaurī who says that abstinence is to avoid the things that affect the lower soul (*nafs*). The last kind of definition of abstinence is made by Shiblī. He said that abstinence is to abstain from every thing save God.

Yahyā b. Mu'ād, as quoted by al-Qushayrī, divides abstinence into two kinds. The first is external abstinence and the second is internal abstinence. The former denotes not moving save for God, whereas the second means that nothing enters the heart save God.⁹⁵

The excellency of abstinence is unquestionable for it is the most excellent of acts⁹⁶ as well as the foundation of the religion. According to Hasan al-Basrī, even the value of very small acts of abstinence (*wara'*) is higher than one thousand acts of

⁹³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 53.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Related to this notion, the Prophet said: "That which is lawful is plain and that which is unlawful is plain and between the two of them are doubtful matters about which not many people know. Thus he who avoids doubtful matters clears himself in regard to his religion and his honour, but he who falls into doubtful matters falls into that which is unlawful, like the shepherd who pastures around a sanctuary, all but grazing therein. Truly every king has a sanctuary, and truly Allah's sanctuary is His prohibition..." See al-Nawawī, *al-Arba'īn, hadīth*, no., 6. The same notion also can be inferred from both of Yahyā b. Mu'ād's sayings which emphasize the notion that the purpose of abstinence is to limit doctrine, without interpretation, and Yūnus b. 'Ubayd's statement that abstinence is to free oneself from every dubious thing and examine the lower soul (*nafs*) every time. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 54.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 'Attār adds one point which distinguishes between these two. He said that whoever is in the former stage will not see God "if he opens his eyes tomorrow" but it will not happen for those in the second stage, for he sees God right now. See Nurbakhsh, *Sufism IV*, 37.

⁹⁶ Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. Khafīf's (d.371/981) tradition. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 54.

fasting and prayers;⁹⁷ it can reduce the difficulty of the judgment in the hereafter.⁹⁸

It is clear that the difference between al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī is that al-Qushayrī clearly asserts that abstinence is among the stations,⁹⁹ while al-Hujwīrī's point of view is unclear for he does not discuss this matter.

ZUHD (ASCETICISM)

The word *zuhd*, literally means to minimize something (al-Qur'ān, 12:20). The letters of *zuhd* (*z*, *h* and *d*) themselves, according to Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Warrāq (d. 290/903), indicate three objects that should be renounced. The letter *z* indicates the *zīnah* (honour, fame etc.). The letter *h* indicates the *hawā* (passions). The letter *d* indicates the *dunyā* (worldly things).¹⁰⁰

In the view of the *sūfī*, the world is like a snake that has a smooth skin but is deadly. This world is not permanent and is hated by God. This is the world for punishment of Adam¹⁰¹. It is the root of all sin and renouncing it is the source of all obedience and goodness.¹⁰² Thus, those who are known as the people of asceticism, would have 1,000 names of praise. In contrast, those who are characterized by love of worldly matters, would be named by 1,000 names of blame.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* See Abū 'Uthmān's saying.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰⁰ Muhammad Abdul al-Rabb, *The life, Thought and Historical Importance of Abū Yazīd al-Bistamī* (Dacca: The Academy For Pakistan Affairs, 1971), 82.

¹⁰¹ Peter J. Awn, "Sūfism," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987)

¹⁰² Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 46, and also al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 57

¹⁰³ Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 46. According to al-Makkī, the world (*Dunyā*) that represents the opposite of the hereafter is the desire or inclination of the lower soul to love in seven ways: women, children, hoarded heaps of gold and silver, well-bred horses, and tilled land and chattel (al-Qur'ān, 3:14). See al-Makkī,

Since the doctrines of *sūfism* are based on personal experiences, the meaning of *zuhd*, technically, evokes different responses but all with the same aim.¹⁰⁴ For example, al-Hasan al-Basrī, ‘Abdullāh b. Mubārak and Abū ‘Uthmān emphasize the meaning of *zuhd* as renunciation from worldly matters, while al-Junayd emphasizes its meaning in both the psychic and spiritual sense.¹⁰⁵ In addition, Sufyān al-Thaurī and Shiblī emphasize its meaning only in the spiritual acts, for no one is able to renunciate this world because we live in the world.¹⁰⁶

As they differ in the three important aspects of religion, ie. *Islām*, *Imān* and *Ihsān*,¹⁰⁷ each seeker (*sālik*) has a different object of renunciation. Those who are in the level of "Muslim", turn away from the furthest veil, namely the *kaun* (being). Those

Qūt al-Qulūb, I, 245. Based on Makkī's point, it is understood that the world which is the object of the ascetic is spiritual in meaning and not the "real" one. Thus, it is also understood that being an ascetic is not the final aim, but it is only a tool to clean the lower soul (*nafs*). In other words, it is a training ground for the lower soul (*nafs*) in the process of spiritual purification. Therefore, it is permissible for the ascetic to live among, and to possess worldly things as long as he can utilize them for the sake of God. See, Zakī Mubārak, *al-Tasawwuf al-Islāmī fī al-Adab wa al-Akhlāq* (Beyrūt: al-Maktabah al-‘Asrīyah n.d.), II, 127-128. To indicate this notion, Shiblī said that there is no real ascetic since the attributes of an ascetic cannot be attributed to one who does not possess material things. If he possesses it, he cannot turn away from these worldly things for it belongs to him. See al-Kalābādihī, *Ta‘arruf*, 112. Al-Kalābādihī, *The Doctrine of Sūfīs (Kitāb al-Ta‘arruf li Madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf)*, translated by A.J. Arberry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 84.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Ghazālī, in this case, also held the same notion. For him, the very beginning of *zuhd* is the renunciation in the physical sense only. The middle level of *zuhd* is to turn away from worldly matters for the sake of the other world, the hereafter. The highest level of *zuhd* is to refrain from asceticism (*zuhd*) itself. See al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā’*, IV, 225-226. This is the reason why Abū Yazīd disliked those who are veiled by their asceticism because asceticism itself is nothing but a veil between God and his servant. See, ‘Abd al-Rabb, *Abū Yazīd*, 102.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Kalābādihī, *Ta‘arruf*, 112. Al-Kalābādihī, *The Doctrine*, 84.

¹⁰⁶ Su‘ād al-Hakīm, *al-Murjam al-Sūfī al-Hikmah fī Hudūd al-Kalimah* (Beyrūt: Dandarah, 1981), 552-556.

¹⁰⁷ See prophetic tradition in al-Imām al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan al-Nasā‘ī: bi sharh al-Hāfiz Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī*, ed. by Shaykh Hasan Muhammad al-Mas‘ūdī (Misr: al-Maktabah al-Tijārīyah al-Kubrā, n.d.), XIII, 97-99.

who are at the level of "*mu'min*", refrain from the nearest veil, that is their own lowest soul (*nafs*).¹⁰⁸ Those who are at the level of *muhsin*, renunciate everything except God.¹⁰⁹

Historically, renunciation (*zuhd*) is among the virtues that had been practiced by the prophets, the companions and the pious followers.¹¹⁰ In the early period of Islam, this term was ascribed to the *al-Qurrā* (the people of recitation) as well as to *ahl al-Suffah*.

With regard to the comparison between al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's concept of renunciation, al-Hujwīrī does not discuss the matter any further. The only point in this connection mentioned by him is that the station of asceticism (*zuhd*) is represented by the prophet Noah.¹¹¹ It is a station after the stations of *taubah* and *inābah*.¹¹² Based on these notions, it can be said that al-Hujwīrī agrees with other *sūfis*, including al-Qushayrī, that renunciation is among the station that should be encountered by the *sūfī* during the spiritual journey.¹¹³

Al-Qushayrī, on the other hand, has a special chapter on this topic and quotes

¹⁰⁸ The reason is that the lowest soul is the seat of the Devil who leads one to falsehood. See Rabb, *Abu Yazīd*, 83.

¹⁰⁹ *Su'ād*, *al-Murjam*, 554. In *al-Luma'*, to refrain from lawful thing (*halāl*) is the level of the beginner (*mubtadī'īn*). To refrain from everything in this world for the hereafter is the stage of the adept (*muhaqqiqīn*). And to refrain from everything save God is the stage of *'arīfīn*. See al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 46-47

¹¹⁰ We find this claim, for example, in Ibn Hanbal's (d. 241/855) book *Kitāb al-Zuhd*. See Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Kitāb al-Zuhd* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Nahdhah al-'Arabīyah, 1981).

¹¹¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371; al-Hujwīrī, A, 616.

¹¹² Al-Hujwīrī, E, 181; al-Hujwīrī, A, 408.

¹¹³ Al-Hujwīrī cites Abū Bakr Warrāq al-Tirmidhī's statement. Abū Bakr said that those who were satisfied about knowledge with disputation (*kalām*) and do not practice *zuhd* are heretics (*zindīq*). See al-Hujwīrī, E, 17; al-Hujwīrī, A, 211.

several *sūfī* traditions and stories that can be summed up as follows: al-Qushayrī said that the *sūfī* masters have made different statements as to the definition of *zuhd*. *Zuhd* meant the turning away from worldly matters. Abū 'Uthmān said that the ascetic should turn away from worldly matters and not care about them.¹¹⁴ Sufyān al-Thaurī, Ahmad b. Hanbal, 'Isā b. Yūnus and others held the view that renunciation of worldly matters means to minimize one's desire (*qasr al-amal*) for them. These above statements refer only to the indication and cause of renunciation. Practically, renunciation means turning away from worldly matters in order to contemplate the Divine Lord.¹¹⁵

The real asceticism (*zuhd*) is trust in God.¹¹⁶ This can be understood from the sayings of al-Junayd, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, Ruwaym and Bishr al-Hāfi which emphasized that the place of asceticism is in the inner part of the heart.¹¹⁷ It is to refrain from everything except that which is for God. Yahyā b. Mu'adh said: "No one reaches the reality of renunciation until three traits are found with him: actions without attachment, words without desire, might without leadership."¹¹⁸ Abu Sulaymān al-Dārānī and Shiblī, for example, emphasized that the notion of renunciation is to abandon everything other than God.¹¹⁹

Al-Qushayrī also quotes sayings that deal with the benefit of being an ascetic person. According to the master's sayings, when the servant of God is an ascetic in

¹¹⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 56.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. This notion is based on 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd, Hasan Basrī, Abū 'Uthmān, Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq and Yahyā b. Mu'adh.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. See the statements of 'Abdullāh b. Mubārak, Shaqīq al-Balhī and Yusuf b Asbat.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 56 - 57.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. See also Nurbakhsh, *Sufism IV*, 59.

¹¹⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 56.

terms of worldly matters, God appoints the angels to plant wisdom in his heart. It was also stated that the world would come to those who renounced it. Moreover, Abū Fudayl b. 'Iyād also said that God made asceticism a key of all goodness.¹²⁰

According to al-Qushayrī, the renunciation of that which is unlawful (*haram*) is unquestionable, because it is an obligation for all Muslims. The renunciation of something which is lawful (*halāl*), however, is debatable among the Muslim scholars. Some of them hold that asceticism (*zuhd*) of the lawful is excellence (*afdal*) since reducing one's wealth together with *ridā* toward the mercy of God is more perfect than being rich and cheerful. It is mentioned in the Qur'ān (4:77) that the livelihood of this world is small. While others say that the

servant must neither choose to refrain from what is lawful such that he burdens himself, nor must he choose to seek more than he needs. He must observe his allotted portion. If God provides lawful possessions, he should thank Him, and if He keeps him at the limit of sufficiency, he should not burden himself by seeking possessions that are superfluous. Patience is the best for the poor man, while thanksgiving is more suited for him who has lawful possessions.¹²¹

Ahmad b. Hanbal, as quoted by al-Qushayrī, classifies the manner of renunciation (*zuhd*) into three stages. The first is to refrain from the unlawful; this is the class of common people. The second is to refrain from the lawful which is superfluous. This is the class of elect people (*khawāṣṣ*). The third is to turn away from being occupied with anything other than God. This is the class of gnostics (*'ārifīn*).¹²²

Based on this elaboration, it is clear that though both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that renunciation (*zuhd*) belongs to the stations, they differ in their treatment of

¹²⁰ Ibid., 57.

¹²¹ Ibid., 55-56.

¹²² Ibid., 57.

this subject. Al-Qushayrī treats the station of *zuhd* in long discussion by quoting a number of traditions, and sayings, while al-Hujwīrī discusses this subject (*zuhd*) very briefly.

QANA'AH (CONTENTMENT)

Contentment (*qanā'ah*) belongs to the station (*maqām*) upon which the station of trust in God (*tawakkul*) is built. It is also among the virtues which is loved by God. The Prophet said that the servant most loved by God is the poor who is pleased (*qānī*) with his sustenance (*rizq*) as well as pleased (*ridā*) with God.¹²³ In another tradition, the Prophet also said that he who has been guided in Islam, who finds his life sufficient and who is pleased with this condition, is a lucky man.¹²⁴

Basically, contentment (*qanā'ah*) is the antithesis of ambition (*tama'*), the most undesirable attitude in *sūfism*.¹²⁵ For, according to the prophet, sustenance (*rizq*) has been determined from preeternity. The Prophet said that four matters have been determined for every person since he was in his mother's belly: "his means of livelihood, his life span, his actions, and whether he is happy or unhappy."¹²⁶

It is important to note that there is no particular discussion of contentment (*qanā'ah*) in the *al-Luma'*, *Ta'arruf*, *Qūt al-Qulūb*, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, *Manāzil* and *'Awārif*. In *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, however, al-Qushayrī deals with this topic through quoting a number of statements and traditions as well as Qur'ānic verses that are summarized below.

¹²³ Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, IV, 199.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *al-Ghunya li Tālibī Tariq al-Haqq 'Azza wa Jalla* (Misr : al-Mausū'ah, 1322), II, 221-222.

¹²⁶ This tradition is narrated from both Bukhārī and Muslim. See al-Nawawī, *al-Arba'īn*, *hadīth* no., 4.

Contentment (*qanā'ah*) is the attitude of not expecting something that is absent or lacking (*mafqūd*) and to be pleased with that which is already possessed.¹²⁷ It is, Bishr al-Hāfī explains, an angel (*malak*) descending only on the heart of the Believer (*mu'min*).¹²⁸ It is, according to Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, a basis of *ridā*, just as *wara'* is the basis of *zuhd*.¹²⁹

Al-Qushayrī says that according to many exegetes, *qanā'ah* is meant by "*hayat tayibat*" (al-Qur'ān, 10:97).¹³⁰ It also the meaning of *rizqā hasanā* (al-Qur'ān, 16:75) and *na'im* (al-Qur'ān, 82:13) as well as the sentence *mulkan lā yanbaghī li ahad min ba'dī* (al-Qur'ān, 38:35).¹³¹ It is, according to prophetic tradition, the treasure that is never destroyed¹³² and those who practice contentment (*qanā'ah*) are among the most grateful people (*ashkar al-nās*).¹³³

Based on the above, it is apparent that al-Qushayrī clearly states that contentment belongs to the stations and that he discusses this in detail, while al-Hujwīrī's stance is unclear for he does not discuss this subject.

¹²⁷ See Abū 'Abdullāh b. Khafīf. This notion can also be inferred from Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhī's statements. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 74-75.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 74.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Among them are 'Alī b. 'Abī Tālib and Hasan al-Basrī. See Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beyrūt: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1987), XIII, 116-117. In his *tafsīr*, al-Qushayrī emphasized the meaning of this sentence in the spiritual sense. He said that the good life (*hayāt tayibat*) cannot be described through words but only through intuition. See al-Qushayrī, *Latā'if al-Ishārāt Tafsīr Sūfī Kāmil al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, ed. by Ibrāhīm Basyūnī (Misr: al-Hay'ah al-Misrīyah, 1981), II, 320.

¹³¹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 75.

¹³² Ibid., 74. See the tradition reported by Jābir b. 'Abdillāh

¹³³ Ibid.

TAWAKKUL (TRUST IN GOD)

Trust in God (*tawakkul*), for the majority of the *sūfis*,¹³⁴ belongs to the stations. It is even considered as one of the most important stations in *sūfism* for the fact that it cannot be separated from the very principle element of religion, namely faith (*īmān*). Schimmel claims that *tawakkul* is a key "for an understanding of classical *Sūfī* thought"¹³⁵ It is a core of Islam (submission) for the fact that without belief in God, trust in Him is nothing. Without trust in Him (*tawakkul*), submission to Him (from which the word *Islām* was adopted as the distinctive name of this faith)¹³⁶ is impossible. In the spiritual sense, *tawakkul* is the reflection of pure monotheism that demands oneness of belief (*tauḥīd*) in the superiority of God. Without this belief, the seeker will commit the hidden association (*shirk khafī*) for relying upon other than God.¹³⁷

Al-Muhāsibī,¹³⁸ Najm al-Din al-Kubrā¹³⁹ and Suhrawardī¹⁴⁰ agree that the level of *tawakkul* is in accordance with the degree of faith that depends on the power of the

¹³⁴ Shaqīq al-Balkhī was said to be the first figure who introduced *tawakkul*. See Louis Massignon, "Tasawwuf," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition (1987). See also "Tasawwuf," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1961).

¹³⁵ Schimmel, *Mystical*, 117. See also Darshan Singh, "The Nature And Meaning of *Tawakkul* In *Sufism*," *Islamic Culture* LVI (October 1982), 267-268.

¹³⁶ H.A.R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1. See also Singh, *The Nature*, 272.

¹³⁷ Schimmel, *Mystical*, 119.

¹³⁸ Al-Muhāsibī says that humans differ in their trust in God (*tawakkul*), and their *tawakkul* depends on the degree of their faith and knowledge. See Husayn al-Quwatī, *al-Tasawwuf al-'Aql fī al-Islām: Namūdhaj al-Muhāsibī fī Kitābih al-Qasd wa al-Rujū' Ilā Allāh* (Malta: Iqrā', 1988), 182.

¹³⁹ He says that *tawakkul* is the fruit of certainty (*yaqīn*) and the fruit depends on the tree. See Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, *Fawā'ih*, 88

¹⁴⁰ According to him, *tawakkul* is in accordance with the degree of knowledge of God (*al-Wakīl*). See Suhrawadī, *'Awārif*, 500.

knowledge (*ma'rifah*). The more knowledgeable the person, the greater his *tawakkul*. For Suhrawardī, the imperfection of *tawakkul* is caused by the influence of the lower soul (*nafs*), while its perfectness is caused by the absence of the lower soul.¹⁴¹

According to Abū Turāb al-Nakhshabī, *tawakkul* has three preconditions. to throw the body to submissiveness, to attach the heart to the Lord and to accept with tranquillity God's decree.¹⁴²

To clarify the doctrine of *tawakkul*, al-Qushayrī quotes a number of sayings which, in my opinion, can be gathered in Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq's statement in which he classified *tawakkul* into three levels.¹⁴³ The first stage, which is an attribute of the common people (*'awwām*) who trust in God's promise, is called *tawakkul*. This is the step of the beginner. Included in this class are the quotations that emphasize performing *tawakkul* together with an effort. One such example is the prophet's suggestion (to the one who wanted to leave his camel free for trust in God) to tie the camel before relying on God (*tawakkul*).¹⁴⁴ Sahl b. 'Abdillāh al-Tustarī said that "trust in God (*tawakkul*) is the Prophet's 'state' (*hāl*) and the effort (for acquisition, *kasb*) is his tradition (*sunnah*). Whosoever remains in his (the Prophet's) state should not abandon his (the Prophet's) tradition.¹⁴⁵

The second level is *taslīm*, the attribute of the elect people (*khawāss*) or saints (*Auliya*). This is the station when one contents himself with God's knowledge (*yaktafī*

¹⁴¹ Suhrawardī, *'Awārif*, 500.

¹⁴² Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 76, quoting Abū Turāb, from al-Sarrāj. See also *al-Luma'*, 51-52.

¹⁴³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 77.

¹⁴⁴ This tradition was reported by Anas b. Mālik. *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

bi 'Ilmih).¹⁴⁶ In this step, the seeker trusts in God for God always knows the exact condition of His servant. This is the middle step of *tawakkul*. This is the point of Dhū al-Nūn's statement that *tawakkul* is whenever you know that God knows best what is happening to you¹⁴⁷ and also the statement of the *sūfī* who said that the owner of trust in God is like a child who only knows his own mother's teat.¹⁴⁸

The last is *tafwīd* (entrustment or consignment). This is the attribute of the people of gnosis (*khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*) and the pure monotheists (*muwahhidīn*). This is the station when one is totally resigned to the decree of fate determined by God. Whereas in the second stage, the seeker (*sālik*) still relies on his belief that God knows what is best for him (this is the reason why he trusts in God), in the third, this belief totally disappears. In this stage, the owner of entrustment (*tafwīd*) is pleased with the decree of God (*yadā bi hukmih*).¹⁴⁹ This is parallel to the notion expressed by Yahyā b. Mu'ādh that *tawakkul* is to be pleased that God is the only Reliable (*wakīlan*)¹⁵⁰ and the notion illustrated by Sahl b. 'Abdillāh al-Tustarī that trust in God is to be like a dead body whose movement totally depends on the hand of the human who washes it.¹⁵¹ In addition, there are other similar statements in line with the above

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. As an additional reference, Javad Nurbakhsh has collected various statements about *taslīm* in his work *Sūfism III* (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi-Publications, 1985), 1-9.

¹⁴⁷ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 76.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 78.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 77. Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā takes account of the branches of *tawakkul* into five excluding *tawakkul* itself: they are *taslīm*, *tafwīd*, *ridā*, *sabr* and *shukr*. See Najm al-Dīn, *Fawā'ih*, 89.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 76.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. Note, however, that is only the "first station in *tawakkul*" according to Sahl.

¹⁵² Ibid.

notion, such as those of Abū Yazīd,¹⁵² Dhū al-Nūn,¹⁵³ ‘Abdullāh al-Qurashī¹⁵⁴ and Ibn Masrūq,¹⁵⁵ Abū ‘Uthmān al-Hīrī,¹⁵⁶ Sahl b. ‘Abdillāh¹⁵⁷ and Abū Ya‘qūb al-Nahrajūrī.¹⁵⁸

Al-Qushayrī laid special emphasis on this topic. He said that as long as the servant believes that the decree is from God, his outside effort (*al-harakah bi al-zāhir*), does not disturb the validity of his *tawakkul* (trust in God) for trust in God is in the heart.¹⁵⁹

There is no special chapter on *tawakkul* in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*. This does not mean that al-Hujwīrī has no opinion concerning this topic. He agrees with al-Qushayrī that *tawakkul* is a station. But they have different opinions about the basis of *tawakkul*: for al-Qushayrī, the basis of *tawakkul* is *qanā‘ah*, while for al-Hujwīrī the basis of *tawakkul* is *zuhd*.¹⁶⁰

Al-Hujwīrī has the same opinion as Abū ‘Alī al-Daqqāq that resignation (*taslīm*) is the station (*maqām*) attributed to the prophet Abraham.¹⁶¹ But al-Hujwīrī divides

¹⁵³ Ibid., 77.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. For al-Sarrāj, the first is the stage of *mu‘min*. The second is for the elect people. The third level is for the elect of the elected people. See, al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma‘*, 51-53. For critical study of *tawakkul* in early *sūfism* see Benedikt Reinert, *Die Lehre vom Tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & c.o, 1968).

¹⁵⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 76.

¹⁶⁰ See my previous discussion, 38, 58 (Dārānī’s saying).

¹⁶¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371; al-Hujwīrī, A, 616, and al-Daqqāq’s saying in al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 78.

this station (Abraham's station) into two aspects: that of the body and that of the heart. The former is Makkah (i.e. *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, the place where Abraham was supposed to have prayed. It is located near the Ka'bah),¹⁶² while the latter is friendship of God (Abraham being *Khalīl Allāh*). Those who desire Abraham's bodily station should make the pilgrimage to Makkah, and those who experience Abraham's "heart" station should fulfill the esoteric meaning of pilgrimage. Esoterically, the pilgrim is not merely to visit Mecca, but is to obtain the vision of God (*mushāhadah*)¹⁶³ But to comprehend the real meaning of the pilgrimage is not an easy task for there are many more veils beyond the bodily pilgrimage.¹⁶⁴ In addition, he says that before going on pilgrimage, one must be secure from threatening enemies. The same is true for those who want to enter the inner pilgrimage; they should be free from "separation (from God) and its consequences."¹⁶⁵ Moreover, al-Hujwīrī says that

Whoever seeks his spiritual station must renounce familiar associations and bid farewell to pleasures and take no thought of other than God (for his looking towards the phenomenal world is interdicted); then he must stand on the 'Arafāt of gnosis (*ma'rīfat*) and from there set out for the Muzdalifa of amity (*ulfat*) and from there send his heart to circumambulate the temple of Divine purification (*tanzīh*), and throw away the stones of passion and corrupt thoughts in the *Minā* of faith, and sacrifice his lower soul on the altar of mortification and arrive at the station of friendship (*khullat*).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² See al-Qur'ān, 2:125-129.

¹⁶³ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 326; al-Hujwīrī, A, 572. Related to this notion, Abū Yazīd said that in his first pilgrimage, he saw the Ka'bah, in the second pilgrimage, he saw the Ka'bah as well as God, while in the third, he saw only God. See al-Hujwīrī, E, 327; al-Hujwīrī, A, 573.

¹⁶⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 327; al-Hujwīrī, A, 573.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 326-327; al-Hujwīrī, A, 572.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 326; al-Hujwīrī, A, 572. Moreover, al-Hujwīrī divides the spiritual meaning of pilgrimage into two kinds: absent and present. For those who are absent from God are in the same position when they are absent from God in their house, while those who are in the presence of God, are in the same position as when they are present with God in their house. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 327; al-Hujwīrī, A, 573.

From this elaboration, it is clear that the most important thing in Abraham's station is the vision of God for He is the Beloved.¹⁶⁷

RIDA (SATISFACTION)

The sūfis have different statements regarding the definition of *ridā*. Al-Junayd, for example, said: "Satisfaction is the relinquishing of free will."¹⁶⁸ Ibn 'Atā' said. "Satisfaction is the heart's regard for what God chose for His servant at the beginning of time, for what He chose for him is the best."¹⁶⁹ *Ridā*, according to many sūfis, is a further development of trust in God (*tawakkul*)¹⁷⁰ which is inseparable from belief (*īmān*) particularly on His decree. For that reason, God condemned him who is not satisfied with His decree. It was stated in the Divine tradition that God said: ". Whosoever is not pleased with My decree and not patient with My own tribulation and never thanks for my blessing, he should search a lord other than Me"¹⁷¹ To be displeased with God's decree is to oppose His determinations and follow one's own lust (*al-hawā*). This effort, however, is useless since it is impossible to change God's decree.¹⁷²

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī discuss the problem of whether *ridā* belongs to the states (*ahwāl*) or to the stations (*maqāmāt*). However, they differ in their

¹⁶⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 327; al-Hujwīrī, A, 572.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf*, 121; al-Kalābādhī, *The Doctrine*, 93

¹⁶⁹ Al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf*, 122. See also al-Kalābādhī, *The Doctrine*, 93 See also al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 53-54.

¹⁷⁰ Related to this statement, Abū al-Sarī Mansūr b 'Ammār said that *ridā* dwells in the heart of those who trust (*mutawakkilīn*). See al-Hujwīrī, E, 126; al-Hujwīrī, A, 338.

¹⁷¹ 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *al-Fath al-Rabbānī wa al-Fayd al-Rahmānī* (Misr. Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Aulāduh, 1960), 235

¹⁷² Al-Jīlānī, *al-Ghunyah*, II, 219. See also Zaydān, *al-Tarīq*, 93.

discussion. Al-Qushayrī says that sūfis of Khurāsān held that the *ridā* is a station for it is a high level of *tawakkul*, while the 'Irāqīs categorized *ridā* as among the states (*ahwāl*).¹⁷³ Al-Hujwīrī, however, seems to criticize al-Qushayrī by expressing the opposite view. He argues that al-Muhāsibī was the first master to include *ridā* in the states (*ahwāl*), and that Khurāsānīs followed him on this. The 'Irāqīs, on the other hand, held that *ridā* belongs to the stations (*maqāmāt*), for it is a high level of trust in God (*tawakkul*).¹⁷⁴

It appears to me that this problem may be understood by referring to al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's comment on the famous saying of Abū 'Uthmān (Abū 'Uthmān said: "During the last of forty years God has never put me in any state that I disliked.").¹⁷⁵ Since Abū 'Uthmān was a Khurāsānī, al-Hujwīrī's generalization seems, at least, to be more logical than al-Qushayrī's. However, no such labeling the fact corresponds to the historical reality.

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī try to reconcile these two different opinions (whether *ridā* is among the states or the stations). According to them, both views may be theoretically reconciled by saying that the beginning of *ridā* may be acquired (*muktasabah*), while its end may not.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, al-Hujwīrī explains that *ridā* has two levels: one is the level of "acquisition and effort" and the other level is the level of "love and rapture." In regard to the first level, *ridā* is the ultimate acquisition and effort, while on the second level, *mujāhadah* (effort) perishes, for it is the stage of love. Thus its beginning is acquisition, while its end is Divine gift. Therefore, *ridā* may be

¹⁷³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 89.

¹⁷⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 177; al-Hujwīrī, A, 404.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 89; al-Hujwīrī, E, 180.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 90; al-Hujwīrī, E, 182; al-Hujwīrī, A, 410.

categorized as either a station or a state.¹⁷⁷

Regarding the definition of *ridā*, both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that the *sūfis* have made a number of differing statements. The only difference is that al-Qushayrī asserts that *ridā* is obligatory only toward the thing which is decreed and ordered by God,¹⁷⁸ while al-Hujwīrī emphasizes to be pleased (*ridā*) with all sides of decree.¹⁷⁹ Because all are gifts from God and whatever derives from God is good in his eyes. Related to this notion al-Hujwīrī cites Muhammad b. Yazīd al-Mubrad's question to Husayn b. 'Alī. about Abū Dharr who preferred poverty to riches, and sickness to health. Husayn explains that, for him, whatever is chosen by God is an excellent choice.¹⁸⁰ In addition, al-Hujwīrī points out that all sorrow will perish from the servant's heart when he is pleased with God's choice and turns away from his own preference.

In light of certain Qur'ānic verses¹⁸¹ and a prophetic tradition,¹⁸² al-Hujwīrī divides *ridā* into two kinds: God's with man and man's with God. God's *ridā* with man consists of God's willingness to reward man "for his good works" and His blessing upon him. Man's *ridā* with God, however, is expressed through performance of religious obligations, and accepting God's determinations (*qadā*).¹⁸³ But this *ridā*

¹⁷⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 182; al-Hujwīrī, A, 410.

¹⁷⁸ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 90.

¹⁷⁹ For al-Hujwīrī, God's mercy is a manifestation of Divine Beauty (*jamāl*), while God's wrath is a manifestation of His majesty (*jalāl*). See al-Hujwīrī, E, 177, al-Hujwīrī, A, 404.

¹⁸⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 177-178; al-Hujwīrī, A, 404. This saying also appears in al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 90.

¹⁸¹ Al-Qur'ān, 48:18, 99:8.

¹⁸² The prophet said: *Dhāqa ta'ma al-Imān man qad radiya bi Allāh rabb.*

¹⁸³ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 177; al-Hujwīrī, A, 404.

(man's *ridā* with God) comes after God's *ridā* with man, because man can obey God only after receiving God's help.¹⁸⁴ This distinction between two kinds of *ridā*, it seems to me, may be based on Ibn Khafīf's explanation of it, which is quoted by al-Qushayrī.¹⁸⁵

In addition, al-Qushayrī elaborates on the possessor of *ridā*. He says that the owner of *ridā* should not be dazzled with the joy of *ridā* itself. If it is so, he will be veiled from God. This is why al-Wāsītī warns sūfis not to enjoy *ridā*. He said: "Use the *ridā* as much as you can, but do not let *ridā* use you..." In another saying he also said: "Beware of having delight through obediences (*al-tā'āt*) for they are deadly poisons."¹⁸⁶ This point, however, seems to be criticized by al-Hujwīrī when discussing *ridā* of gnosis (*ma'rifah*), as will be seen shortly.

Al-Hujwīrī divides "man who is pleased" (*rādī*) into four groups. The first is those who are pleased with God's gift ('*atā'*), namely gnosis (*ma'rifah*). These people are of two kinds. Those who turn away from the Giver to the gift and accept the gift wholeheartedly, both trouble and grief perish from their hearts. This is the first kind. The second is

he who looks away from the gift to the Giver loses the gift and treads the path of satisfaction by his own effort. Now effort is painful and grievous, and gnosis is only realized when its true nature is divinely revealed; and inasmuch as gnosis, when sought by effort, is a shackle and a veil, such gnosis is non-cognition (*nakirat*).

The second group is "those who are pleased with happiness (*nu'mā'*), which is this world." For these people, it is real happiness only when it leads to the Giver of

¹⁸⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 178; al-Hujwīrī, A, 405.

¹⁸⁵ According to him, there are two kinds of *ridā*: "to agree with" (*ridā bih*) and "to be satisfied" (*ridā 'anh*). See Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 89.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

happiness; otherwise, it is an affliction. The third group is those who are pleased with affliction (*balā*). These people can endure the pain of affliction through contemplating that its Author is their Beloved. The fourth group is those who are pleased with being chosen (*istifā*), which is love (*mahabbah*). These people "have no thought of created things and have escaped from the bonds of 'stations' and 'states' and have devoted themselves to the love of God." Their heart is always in the presence of God. Their *ridā* is permanent.¹⁸⁷

HUZN (SORROW)

Unlike al-Muhāsibī,¹⁸⁸ al-Qushayrī holds that sorrow (*huzn*) belongs to the states (*ahwāl*). *Huzn* is the state (*hāl*) which restricts the heart from being separated in the valleys of heedlessness (*audiyat al-ghaflah*). This is among the attributes of *ahl al-sulūk* (the seekers).¹⁸⁹

To clarify this topic, al-Qushayrī quotes twenty-two quotations: one from the Qur'ān ("...Praise be to God, who has removed from us (all) sorrow..."(al-Qur'ān, 35:34), one from *Taurah* ("Whenever God loves a servant, He creates crying in his heart and whenever God dislikes a servant, He makes a flute in his heart"), three from prophetic traditions and seventeen sayings of prominent sūfis that may be summed up as follows:

¹⁸⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 178-179; al-Hujwīrī, A, 405-406.

¹⁸⁸ According to al-Muhāsibī, sorrow is a part of the stage that can be acquired. He said that there are three methods to achieve the stage of sorrow (*huzn*). The first is through thinking about the sin that had been committed and thinking to face God without any preparations (*zād*). The second is to comprehend the fulfillment of God's right and God's obligation. The third is to realize or to acknowledge the disobedience toward God. See al-Muhāsibī, *al-Qasd wa al-Rujū ilā Allāh*, 162.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 65.

Sorrow (*huzn*) is needed for the safety of a human being for whenever the heart lacks it, the heart will break like a building without pillars.¹⁹⁰ According to Ibn Khafīf, *huzn* guards the soul (*nafs*) from excessive emotion.¹⁹¹ Sorrow (*huzn*) is also among the virtues (*hasanāt*) which have a lot of rewards in the hereafter.¹⁹² It is an attitude which pleases God. According to Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah, the sorrow (*huzn*) might even attract God's mercy.¹⁹³ The Prophet explained that sorrow might grant the pardon of sin.¹⁹⁴ It is considered as the "almsgiving of the intellect" (*zakāt al-'aql*).¹⁹⁵

From its object, *huzn* (sorrow) is divided into two classifications; worldly sorrow (*huzn al-Dunyā*) which is categorized by sūfis as an evil (*sū'*) and otherworldly sorrow (*huzn al-Akhirah*) that is considered goodneses (*hasanāt*) by sūfis. But for Abū 'Uthmān, all forms of sorrow (*huzn*) are good for Muslims as long as they are not the result of bad action (*ma'siyah*), because each of them is the process of specification (*takhsīs*) or purification (*tamkhīs*) for Muslims.¹⁹⁶

To end this discussion, I would like to emphasize here that al-Hujwīrī, in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, does not have a long discussion of sorrow (*huzn*). He only states that sorrow belongs to the station represented by David.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, al-Hujwīrī says that the real *huzn* is sorrow from "loss of the Beloved and failure to gain the object of

190 Ibid.

191 Ibid.

192 See Ibid., 66, (the saying from the previous '*ulamā'*).

193 Ibid., 65.

194 Ibid. This prophetic tradition was reported by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī.

195 Ibid., 66.

196 Ibid.

197 Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371; al-Hujwīrī, A, 616.

desire."¹⁹⁸ Thus, it is clear that the differences between al-Hujwīrī's and al-Qushayrī's views about *huzn* are that al-Qushayrī holds that *huzn* is a state (*hāf*), while al-Hujwīrī states that *huzn* belongs to the stations. Al-Qushayrī gives detailed explanations about this stage, whereas al-Hujwīrī does not.

WAJD AND WUJUD

The word *wajd* which is often translated as "ecstasy" is derived from *wajada*, "to find." Therefore, the way to reach the state of ecstasy through outward means (for example, listening to the recitation of the Qur'ān, the music, dancing and singing) is called *tawājud*. For al-Qushayrī, there is a stage of ecstasy beyond *wajd* which is called *wujūd*.¹⁹⁹

Unlike al-Qushayrī, al-Hujwīrī asserts that both *wajd* and *wujūd* are states. For him, "*wajd* is a painful affliction of the heart, arising either from jest or earnest, either from sadness or gladness; and *wujūd* is the removal of grief from the heart and the discovery of the object that was its cause."²⁰⁰ Al-Qushayrī, however, asserts that producing *wajd* (*tawājud*) is the beginning of *wajd*, and *wujūd* is the end of *tawājud* and *wajd*. In Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq's statement, *tawājud* is like the step of seeing the ocean, *wajd* is like the step of plunging into the ocean, and *wujūd* is like the step of sinking into the ocean.²⁰¹

There are different views as to whether *wajd* is superior to *wujūd* or *vice versa*. Some of the *sūfis* (including al-Junayd) held that *wajd* is more perfect than *wujūd*. The

¹⁹⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 413; al-Hujwīrī, A, 661.

¹⁹⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 34. See also Schimmel, *Mystical*, 178-179.

²⁰⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 414; al-Hujwīrī, A, 661.

²⁰¹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 34.

reason was that God is infinite and cannot be found. Seeking (*wajd*) of God is unending. While *wujūd* is applied to a thing that may be found (other than God). Therefore, the former is an attribute of gnostics and the latter of novices. Some of them (including Shiblī), however, held the opposite view, reasoning that in *wujūd*, the *sūfī* enjoys the gift, while in *wajd*, he is in the process of seeking. Therefore, the *wujūd* is for the gnostics while the *wajd* is for the novices.²⁰²

With regard to this problem, it appears to me that al-Qushayrī agrees with the second group. This may be inferred from his statement that *tawājjud* (taking pains to produce *wajd*) is the beginning. It is the step of *qusūd* ("aiming"). *Wajd* is the middle step between *tawājjud* and *wujūd*. This is the step of *wurūd* (arrival). In this stage, one's humanity is calm for he is in the presence of God (*shuhūd*). Then he ascends to *wujūd*, therefore, *wujūd* is the end of both *tawājjud* and *wajd*. After possessing the *wujūd*, the *sūfī* then moves to *khumūd* (calm) which depends on the degree of *wujūd* itself.²⁰³ Al-Hujwīrī, on the other hand, agrees with the first group. He argues that whenever the seeker knows that God (the object of finding through worshipping) is not genus, his grief (*wajd*) is never ending.²⁰⁴ Therefore *wajd* is more perfect than *wujūd*.

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that *wajd* and *wujūd* are two stages in the audition (*samā'*) and those who have experienced the advanced stage should maintain the *sharī'ah* because in this stage they are in dangerous circumstances.²⁰⁵ The difference is that al-Hujwīrī holds that *wajd* and *wujūd* are states, while al-Qushayrī's opinion is unclear.

²⁰² Al-Hujwīrī, E, 414; al-Hujwīrī, A, 662.

²⁰³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 34-35.

²⁰⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 414; al-Hujwīrī, A, 662.

²⁰⁵ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 35; al-Hujwīrī, E, 415; al-Hujwīrī, A, 662 and see also the notion of al-Hujwīrī's quotation from al-Junayd in the same page.

AL-QAHR (VIOLENCE) AND AL-LUTF (KINDNESS)

In the Qur'ān, both *al-Qahr* (al-Qur'ān, 12:39, 13:18, 38:65, 39:4, 14:48) and *lutf* (al-Qur'ān, 6:103, 12:100, 22:63, 33:34, 42:19) are attributes of God. In sūfism, these two, according to al-Hujwīrī, are states of the sūfis. *Qahr* (violence) is theoretically God's "reinforcement" to His servants "in annihilating their desires and in restraining the lower soul from its concupiscence." *Lutf* (kindness), on the other hand, is "God's help towards the subsistence of their hearts towards the continuance of contemplation and towards the permanence of ecstasy in the degree of steadfastness (*istiqāmat*)."²⁰⁶

Theoretically, when the sūfī is in the state of *qahr* or of *lutf*, his action is divine grace (*karāmah*) for he is overpowered by either God's *qahr* or *lutf*. The people of kindness (*lutf*) claim that the divine grace (*karāmah*) is "the attainment of one's desire." While the people of violence (*qahr*) held that the divine grace (*karāmah*) is (reinforcement resulting in this) that "God through His will should restrain a man from his own will and should overpower him with will-lessness."²⁰⁷

There is the question as to whether *qahr* is superior to *lutf* or *vice-versa*. This question can be inferred from the story of two dervishes of Baghdād which al-Hujwīrī mentions, but without stating his preference. For him, choosing one would be an affliction (*balā'*). He has no "choice beyond His choice."²⁰⁸ Al-Qushayrī, on the other hand, did not discuss these two as 'states'.

²⁰⁶ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 377; al-Hujwīrī, A, 622.

²⁰⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 377-378; al-Hujwīrī, A, 622-623.

²⁰⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 379; al-Hujwīrī, A, 623. Husrī's saying indicating that the saint who does not follow his saintship is more perfect than those who follow it.

KHAUF (FEAR) AND RAJA' (HOPE)

According to sūfī teaching, fear and hope are like the two-wings of a bird. These two cannot be separated from the love of God, for love without both of them is impossible.²⁰⁹ The benefit of both hope and fear, according to al-Ghazālī, depends on the condition of the seeker himself. For those who feel safe from God's punishment, the state of fear is better for them. Whereas for those who feel hopeless, the hope is better for them.²¹⁰ According to Dhū al-Nūn, "Fear guards the works and hope intercedes in tribulations (*shafī al-mihan*)"²¹¹

The sūfis have different views about the status of hope and fear. Al-Sarrāj and al-Qushayrī hold that both fear and hope are states. Al-Hujwīrī, Suhrawardī and al-Ghazālī, on the other hand, assert that both of them are stations.²¹² But almost all sūfis agree that both of them are for novices.

According to al-Qushayrī, fear corresponds to something that will happen in the future, whether it is fear of an undesired object or of losing the Beloved.²¹³ *Khauḥ* is a movement of the heart that derives from God.²¹⁴ It is, according to Abū Hafs al-Haddād, a lamp of the heart in which both goodness and badness are illuminated.²¹⁵ It guides humankind toward the path. Dhū al-Nūn said: "Humankind remains in the

²⁰⁹ Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 63.

²¹⁰ Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, IV, 164.

²¹¹ 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah*, tahqīq Nur al-Dīn Shuraybah (Misr: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1953), 24.

²¹² See, al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32. Suhrawardī, *'Awārif*, 397-398. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, IV, 155 and 167.

²¹³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 59.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

path as long as fear is not lost from them, whenever they lose their fear, they go astray from the path." Abū 'Uthmān al-Hīrī also said: "As long as fear separates from the heart, the heart is in ruins."²¹⁶ Fear functions as the halter of the lower soul. Abu Bakr al-Wāsitī said that "fear and hope are two halters upon the self that prevent it from embarking upon frivolity."²¹⁷ According to Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, a *sūfī* will ascend through fear, if he loses his fear, he will descend.²¹⁸

Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, as quoted by al-Qushayrī, divided fear into three levels. *khauf* (fear), *khashyah* (apprehension) and *haybah* (awe). *Khauf* is a precondition of faith (*īmān*). God said: "...Fear Me, if ye have faith."²¹⁹ *Khashyah* is precondition of knowledge (*'ilm*). God said: "Those truly fear God, among His servants, who have knowledge."²²⁰ *Haybah* is a requirement of gnosis. God said: "God cautions you to beware of Himself."²²¹ The difference between *rahbah* and *khashyah*, according to Abū al-Qāsim al-Hakīm,²²² is that the possessor of *rahbah*, when he is dreading, takes flight while the possessor of *khashyah*, when he is apprehensive, moves to God.²²³

As far as al-Qushayrī's elaboration is concerned, the object of fear can be classified into three things: God's punishment, the lower soul, and God. Related to

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 61. See also Nurbakhsh, *Sūfism*, 23.

²¹⁸ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 61. For the same notion see also al-Nūrī's saying.

²¹⁹ Al-Qur'ān, 3:175.

²²⁰ Ibid., 35; 28.

²²¹ Al-Qur'ān, 3:28

²²² His full name is Abū al-Qāsim al-Hakīm Ishāq b. Ismā'īl al-Samarqandī (d. 342/953). See, Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 574

²²³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 60.

the first point, al-Qushayrī says that fear of God means to fear His punishment either in this world or hereafter. This is an obligation upon believers. God said: "Fear me, if you are believers."²²⁴ There is also another saying stating that *al-khā'if* (one who fears) is he who abandons the thing which leads to the punishment.²²⁵ Regarding the second point, Abū 'Amr al-Dimashqī says that fearing of his own soul is much more than fearing of Shaytān.²²⁶ Related to the third point, al-Hallāj said:

When someone fears something other than God, the doors of all things are locked toward him and fear takes mastery over him. It veils him with seventy veils, the least of which is doubt. That which imposes upon such servants the intensity of their fear is thinking about outcomes and their dread of changing their state.²²⁷

This division is based on the different levels of the seekers. The common people would fear God's punishment, the elect people would fear the lower soul, and the elect of the elect would fear nothing but God.

Fear, for the adept people, is a veil between them and God. Al-Wāsiṭī said that "fear is a veil between God and servant." For al-Qushayrī, it means that those who fear still look for another time (*waqt thān*), while "the saints" (*abnā' al-waqt*)²²⁸ never look for the future.²²⁹

Dealing with *rajā'*, al-Qushayrī says that hope is to hang one's heart on the

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid., 61. See also Javad Nurbakhsh, *Sūfism* (New York: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publications, 1982), 23-24.

²²⁸ These words mean "the sons of the moment", but in sūfism this is applied to one who possesses an unchangeable state. See my previous discussion on the relationship between state and time, 41-42.

²²⁹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 60.

object desired in the future. By hope, the heart lives and becomes independent. It is the opposite of *tamannī* (wishing), which leads to indolence and loss of effort. The attitude of the owner of hope is in contrast with the attitude of one who is wishing. Therefore, hope is praiseworthy, while wishing is defective (*ma'lūl*).

Hoping for God's mercy is important for, according to the Prophet, God responds to His servant's thought (*zann*).²³⁰ Therefore, every Muslim must have this hope for God is The Most Generous. God promised that as long as His servant worships Him and hope for Him and makes no association with Him, He will forgive all of his sins.²³¹ According to another tradition, even he who has but a small amount of faith, he might be safe from Hell.²³²

Al-Qushayrī not only quotes and collects arguments showing the excellence of hope, but also cites a number of sayings that emphasize the importance of the balance between fear and hope. This notion can be seen in Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī's statement who said that emphasizing only one of either fear or hope is defective. The ideal way would be to attain a balance between them.²³³ Abū 'Alī al-Rūdbārī also said that fear and hope are like two wings of a bird, whenever both are in balance, the bird will fly perfectly and be stable.²³⁴

Ibn Khubayq,²³⁵ as quoted by al-Qushayrī, divided the owner of hope into three kinds. He who performs good works hopes that his acts are accepted by God. This is

²³⁰ Ibid., 63-64.

²³¹ Ibid., 62.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid., 63.

²³⁴ Ibid., 62-63.

²³⁵ His full name is 'Abdullāh b. Khubayq b. Sābiq al-Antākī Abū Muhammad (d. 200/815-16). See Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 566.

the first kind. The second is he who commits sins and then repents to God. This man hopes for God's forgiveness. The third is he who continues to commit the sin while hoping that God would forgive him. This is a liar. This person must have greater fear than hope.²³⁶ According to me, this division, however, is not in accordance with the level of the seekers: the common people, the elect people and the elect of the elect.

To end the discussion of these two stages, I would like to emphasize that although al-Hujwīrī does not discuss them specifically, he agrees with al-Qushayrī that both fear and hope are stages of the novices, the stages which then become the basis of contraction and expansion.²³⁷ Both of them also agree concerning the significance of stability between hope and fear. Even al-Hujwīrī himself criticizes one who only practices hope. For him, this practice leads to indolence.²³⁸

In spite of these similarities, they differ on some points. Al-Qushayrī elaborates at length these two stages, while al-Hujwīrī does not. Al-Qushayrī asserts that both of them are states, but al-Hujwīrī holds that both of them are stations which are represented by two different prophets (fear was represented by John, and hope by Jesus).²³⁹

QABD (CONTRACTION) AND BAST (EXPANSION)

Contraction (*qabd*) and expansion (*bast*) are gifts from God. These are states (*ahwāl*). In reality, both of them are impossible to describe for they correspond to the Act of God. The sayings of *sūfī* masters about these terms are only indications or

²³⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 62-63.

²³⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 274; al-Hujwīrī, A, 619.

²³⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 133; al-Hujwīrī, A, 345.

²³⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371; al-Hujwīrī, A, 616.

signs of them.²⁴⁰

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that both *qabd* and *bast* are states found after the servant has passed beyond the stages of fear and hope. Contraction, for gnostics, is like fear for the beginner (*musta'nif*), while expansion for the gnostics is like hope for the beginner.²⁴¹ However al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī differ in their further elaboration. Al-Qushayrī explains the distinction between the state of contraction and expansion and the state of fear and hope. He says that the difference between the states of contraction and expansion and the states of fear and hope is that both hope (either hope for desired things or escaping an affliction or undesired thing) and fear (either fear of losing something which is dear or the coming of an unexpected affliction) are hanging to something which will happen, while both contraction and expansion correspond to an unseen influx that overcomes right now.²⁴² In addition, al-Qushayrī explains that when this influx enters the heart, and indicates a reprimand to the servant, the contraction occurs in the heart, but when the influx that enters the heart indicates proximity, the expansion occurs in the heart.²⁴³ Al-Hujwīrī, however, agrees with his Shaykh who says that whenever the spiritual influence, which descends from God on man, "fills the heart with joy and subdues the lower soul," the expansion of the heart occurs, and whenever this spiritual influence "subdues the heart and fills the lower soul with joy," the contraction of the heart occurs. Abū Yazīd says: The contraction of hearts consists in the expansion of souls, and the expansion of hearts in the contraction of souls."²⁴⁴ For al-Hujwīrī, in the

²⁴⁰ Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif*, 517.

²⁴¹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32; al-Hujwīrī, E, 374; al-Hujwīrī, A, 619.

²⁴² Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32-33.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 375; al-Hujwīrī, A, 620.

process of love, both of them are needed, because contraction of soul protects from disturbance, and the expansion of heart guards from making a mistake.²⁴⁵

Unlike al-Hujwīrī, al-Qushayrī says that as they differ in their states, the *sūfis* differ in their experiences of contraction and expansion. Some of them are totally dominated by these two states, but there are also those who undergo these two states but are not totally dominated by them. In general, one's contraction would be the same as his expansion and *vice - versa*.²⁴⁶ In addition, he says that these two states, for the people of the Truth (*ahl al-tahqīq*), are among the dangerous things from which one must seek refuge in God. In relation to what lies beyond them, they represent poverty and loss.²⁴⁷

Moreover, al-Qushayrī elaborates the ways to accept these two states. He says that the best manner to experience the state of contraction is to be resigned to one's condition until this spiritual state comes to an end voluntarily. If he negates it or tries to handle it, it would result in the increasing of contractions and such effort is considered bad behavior (*sū adab*), if he submits, however, the contraction will perish in a short time. Sometimes, an expansion may suddenly arrive and overpower its owner without any reason

Joy appears in his heart and agitates him. In such a case, his way should be to remain at rest and to observe *adab*, for in such a spiritual moment he faces great danger and must be wary of hidden deception. In reference to this, one of the *sūfis* had said, 'A door was opened for me into expansion, but I suffered a lapse and became veiled from my station.' This is why it is also said, 'Remain standing on the carpet (*bisāf*) and beware of cheerful expansion (*inbisāf*).'²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 375, al-Hujwīrī, A, 620.

²⁴⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 33.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. See also Nurbakhsh, *Sūfism*, 38.

Unlike al-Qushayrī, al-Hujwīrī addresses the question as to whether *qabd* (contraction) is superior to *bast* (expansion) or the contrary. Some sūfis held that *qabd* is superior for two reasons. The first is that, in the Qur'ān, *qabd* was mentioned before *bast*, indicating its superiority. The second is that in *qabd* both humanity and the lower soul are disintegrated and oppressed, while in *bast* both of them are nourished. Fostering of both humanity and the lower soul is inferior to oppressing them for both humanity and the lower soul are considered to be the greatest veils. Some of them, however, held that *bast* is superior to *qabd* for two reasons. The first is that, *bast* being mentioned in the Qur'ān before *qabd* shows its inferiority. As evidence, in the Qur'ān (35:246) God mentions the bad person before the pious people. The second is that *bast* involves joy which is resulting from the stage of union and in *qabd* there is grief which is caused by separation. Thus, for gnostics, to rest in the halter of union is better than to stop in the stage of separation.²⁴⁹ Therefore, the state of *bast* is superior to the state of *qabd*.²⁵⁰

It is important that al-Hujwīrī attributes the state of expansion to Jesus who smiled since his birth because of his hope for the mercy of God, and the state of contraction to John who cried since his birth fearing separation from God.²⁵¹

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that contraction and expansion belong to the states (*ahwā*).²⁵² Therefore these cannot be acquired. God said." . It is God that giveth (you) wantor plenty,..." (al-Qur'ān, 2:245) They also agree that contraction is like fear for the novices and an expansion is similar to the beginner's hope.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 375; al-Hujwīrī, A, 620.

²⁵⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 375; al-Hujwīrī, A, 619-620.

²⁵¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 376; al-Hujwīrī, A, 620.

²⁵² See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32-33; al-Hujwīrī, E, 374; al-Hujwīrī, A, 619.

UNS (INTIMACY) AND HAYBAH (AWE)

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī hold that both intimacy and awe are two states. Intimacy is a state following a state of expansion, just as expansion follows hope. Whereas awe is a state after contraction, it is like a contraction above fear.²⁵⁴ It is clear that the *sūfī* will ascend from the stages of hope and fear to the states of expansion and contraction, and then ascend to states of intimacy and awe.

Unlike al-Qushayrī, al-Hujwīrī explains the processes of both intimacy and awe. He says that the states of intimacy and awe are undergone in the heart when the heart is being illuminated with the Divine Light. The intimacy occurs when God's beauty descends into it, while whenever God's majesty dominates the heart, the awe occurs. For that reason, the owner of *uns* feels joy because of his illumination toward God's beauty, while the possessor of *haybah* feels distress because of his burning in the fire of love.²⁵⁵

Al-Qushayrī, however, tries to elaborate the level of awe. He says that the level of one's awe depends on his awareness of being absent from God, while the level of his intimacy depends on his consciousness of being intimate to God. Thus, the real awe is an absence of personal consciousness, while the real intimacy is the sobriety of being intimate with God.²⁵⁶ The lowest type of intimacy is illustrated by one who is

²⁵³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 32; al-Hujwīrī, E, 374; al-Hujwīrī, A, 619.

²⁵⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 33; al-Hujwīrī, E, 374; al-Hujwīrī, A, 619.

²⁵⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 376; al-Hujwīrī, A, 621 See the previous discussion, 71-72.

²⁵⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 33 Al-Sarrāj divides the intimate people into three kinds. The first are those who are intimate through the recollection of God and obedience to God. The second those who are intimate with only God and turn away from everything that distracts them from Him.

thrown into *lazā* (the name of Hell) and his intimacy does not change. Al-Sarī said that his heart achieved the state where if his face was cut by a sword, he would not feel it.²⁵⁷ But both of these states, for people of gnosis (*ahl al-tamkīn*) are imperfect states because both of them involve the servant's change. The only state which may be attributed to *ahl al-tamkīn* is an unchangeable state, for they are in the "finding of Reality" (*wujūd al-'ayn*), in which there is no awe, no intimacy, no knowledge, no feeling for them.²⁵⁸

Al-Hujwīrī, in addition, discusses the problem as to whether intimacy is superior to awe or the contrary. Some sūfis held that awe is prior to intimacy for three reasons. The first is that awe dominated intimacy, so that the more the seeker possesses the awe, the more he refuses the intimacy. The second is that intimacy with God is only possible through recollection of Him, while awe with God is possible through God directly. Therefore, intimacy is inferior to awe, for the true lover is he who is never satisfied but with the Beloved. The last reason is that awe is a degree of gnosis, while intimacy is a stage of novices.²⁵⁹ Some of the masters, however, held the view that intimacy is superior to awe because awe is caused by separation and punishment, while intimacy is the direct effect of union and mercy. Thus, the friends of God must be free from awe and always attached to the intimacy.²⁶⁰

"The third class are they whose feelings of awe in the presence of God causes them to become unconscious of being 'intimate'. Al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 64-65. For this quotation, see partial translation of *al-Luma'*, 19.

²⁵⁷ Paraphrase from al-Junayd's report. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 33.

²⁵⁸ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 33-34.

²⁵⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 376, al-Hujwīrī, A, 621

²⁶⁰ Al-Hujwīrī's shaykh said that the intimacy with God cannot be denied as God often called his servants with the words "My servants" in several Qur'anic verses. (al-Qur'ān, 2:186, 15:42, 15:31, 43:68) Whenever God's servant sees this favour, he automatically loves Him. As a result, he is intimate with God. The nature of men is to be intimate with the benefactors. See al-Hujwīrī, E, 376; al-

In al-Hujwīrī's view, both of these opinions are right. He argues that for the followers of annihilation (*fanā'*), awe is superior because the power of awe tends to annihilate human nature (*fanā'*), whereas the follower of subsistence (*baqā'*), holds that intimacy is superior, for the power of intimacy tends to strengthen gnosis.²⁶¹

In the elaboration above, it is important to note that both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī, although they have different explanations, agree that intimacy is a state after the state of expansion, while the state of awe is a state after the state of contraction.

MUSAMARAH (NOCTURNAL DISCOURSE) AND MUHADATHAH (CONVERSATION)

According to Divine tradition, God said; "I created you to consult with Me, if you cannot do it then make conversation with Me, if you cannot do it then make secret conversation with Me, if you cannot do it then listen to Me." Sahl b 'Abdillāh also said that "God created His creatures in order that He might converse with them in secret (*yusārrahum*) and they with Him."²⁶² Based on these two traditions, it is clear that conversation between God and creature is not only possible, it is even encouraged. These conversations, however, occur in esoteric ways.

To clarify this point, al-Hujwīrī says that when the seekers achieve the state of spiritual adepts, they make esoteric conversation with God either in the night or in the day. In outward meaning, the former is called *musāmarah*, while the latter is called *muhādathah*. These two esoteric conversations are states of the perfect sūfis.

Hujwīrī, A, 621.

²⁶¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 377; al-Hujwīrī, A, 622. As an additional reference as well as discussion of both intimacy and awe from different sūfī treatises see Nurbakhsh, *Sūfism III*, 63-90

²⁶² See al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 349 For this quotation, see partial translation of *al-Luma'*, 92.

"*Muhādathat* (conversation) is really spiritual talk conjoined with silence of the tongue, and *musāmarat* (nocturnal discourse) is really continuance of unrestraint (*inbisāt*) combined with concealment of the most secret thoughts (*kitmān-i sirr*)."²⁶³ *Musāmarah* is based on occultation (*al-satr*), while *muhādathah* is based on revelation (*kashf*).

For the lover, *musāmarah* is more perfect than *muhādathah* for the following reasons. The first is that *muhādathah* is esoteric conversation between God and man at the time when the servant services his master (in the day). In contrast, *musāmarah* is esoteric conversation taking place in the time when lovers are intimate with their Beloved (in the night). The former is Moses' state when he asked to see God but he was unable to see Him (al-Qur'ān, 7:139), whereas the latter is Muhammad's state during his nocturnal ascent to his lord (*mirā*).²⁶⁴ So, in other words, the first is the state of one who came to see God, while the second is the state of one who was brought to come before God.²⁶⁵ The discussion of these two states is not available in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*.

²⁶³ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 380; al-Hujwīrī, A, 624.

²⁶⁴ During this journey, the Prophet prayed secretly to God for his tongue became dumb and his heart was "amazed at His infinite greatness." Al-Hujwīrī, E, 381; al-Hujwīrī, A, 625

²⁶⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 380-381; al-Hujwīrī, A, 624-625.

DHIKR (REMEMBRANCE OF GOD)

Dhikr, (remembrance of God), which is often translated as "invocation" is an important pillar of the *sūfī* Path because, according to many *sūfis*, all Islamic doctrines and obligations are aimed at awakening remembrance of God in the soul. Al-Ghazālī says that *dhikr* is a medium to assume "the traits of divine names (*al-takhalluq bi al-asmā al-Ilāhīyah*)" which is the very definition of *sūfism* for Ibn 'Arabī. Ibn 'Atā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) considered that the *dhikr*, as part of worship, will be preserved until the Day of Resurrection. It is an indication of love,²⁶⁶ and those who love a thing will always mention and remember it. As a result, in Ibrahim al-Harawī's words, his heart has become the dwelling place of remembrance (*dhikr*)²⁶⁷

According to Chittick, in order to understand the real implications of *dhikr*, one should know about three important aspects of Islamic teachings, i.e. "divine unity, prophecy, and return to God (in its widest sense, embracing both the 'compulsory return' through death and the 'voluntary return' through spiritual practice)," because these three are inseparable from the invocation itself.²⁶⁸

Like other *sūfis*, Al-Qushayrī, in his *Risālah*, discusses the excellence of the *dhikr*. He says that it is among the virtues which are obligatory upon Muslims.²⁶⁹ The Prophet stated that *dhikr* is the best act, the purest wealth and the most precious

²⁶⁶ William C. Chittick, "*Dhikr*," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987).

²⁶⁷ Abū Nu'aym Ahmad b 'Abd Allāh al-Isbahānī, *Hilyat al-Auliya' wa Tabaqāt al-Asfiya'* (Misr: Maktabat al-Hānjī, 1932), 10, 44, see also Schimmel, *Mystical*, 168.

²⁶⁸ See Chittick, "*Dhikr*"

²⁶⁹ God said: "O ye who believe! Celebrate the praises of God, and do this often; and glory Him morning and evening." (al-Qur'ān, 33:41-42).

thing.²⁷⁰ It is the pillar of the world; without it, the Day of Judgment will come. The prophet said that the Day of Judgment will not come as long as there is a single person saying "Allāh, Allāh".²⁷¹

Al-Qushayrī also emphasizes that *dhikr* is among the distinct virtues for three reasons. *Dhikr* does not require a special time,²⁷² this is the first reason. The second is that *dhikr* is among God's attributes, and whatever is attributed to God is better than that which is attributed to anyone other than Him. For this reason al-Sulamī and Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq assert that *dhikr* is better than *fikr* (thinking of God). The final reason is that, according to a prophetic tradition, *dhikr* is a virtue exclusively granted to Muhammad's community (*ummah*) and not to the others, moreover, it is a virtue which is reciprocated between a servant and God.²⁷³

In addition, al-Qushayrī asserts that *dhikr* is the principal pillar of the *tariqah* (the path towards God). *Dhikr* is divided into two kinds: praise with the tongue (*dhikr bi al-lisān*) and praise with the heart (*dhikr bi al-qalb*). The former functions as a tool to

²⁷⁰ This tradition is also quoted by al-Hujwīrī. See, al-Hujwīrī, E, 87; al-Hujwīrī, A, 297.

²⁷¹ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 101. Some sūfis said that the best invocation is to mention only the name of Allāh for it is safer than formula *La llāha illā Allāh*. The reason is that, according to Abū al-'Abbās al-'Uraybī, there is a possibility for those who invoke the completed invocation (*lā llāha illā Allāh*) to die in a most dangerous time, the time of negation (*lā llāha*), while for those who only invoke the word "Allāh" the only possible circumstance at the time of death is that of an affirmation of God. See, Chittick, "dhikr". In order to succeed in *dhikr*, Najm al-Dīn Rāzī explained that, in the beginning, the *salik* should place his hand on his thighs, make his heart concentrate, close his eyes, and then begin to utter the words *La llāha* while bringing this word from his navel up, and saying the words *illā Allāh* by bringing it down into the heart. This invocation should be pronounced slowly. See Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, translation of *Mirsād al-ibad min al-Mabda' ilā al-Ma'ād* by Hamid Algar with an introduction and annotation (New York: Caravan Books, Delmar, 1982), 272.

²⁷² Al-Qur'ān, 3:191.

²⁷³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 102.

achieve the latter, namely *dhikr bi al-qalb*. Whoever is able to praise God with both the tongue and the heart, is perfect in his or her search (*sulūk*).²⁷⁴

Although al-Qushayrī composed a special chapter on *dhikr*, he did not state clearly whether *dhikr* belongs to the states or to the stations. Al-Hujwīrī, on the other hand, notes that *dhikr* belongs to the station (*maqām*) represented by the prophet Muhammad.²⁷⁵ This point may be based on a prophetic tradition (*dhikr* is a virtue exclusively granted to Muhammad's community) which is already cited by al-Qushayrī.²⁷⁶

According to al-Hujwīrī, *dhikr* is the inner aspect of *salāh* (prayer), which literally means "remembrance of God and submissiveness." To clarify his own statement, al-Hujwīrī gives his interpretation to almost all of the preconditions as well as the required obligations of *salāh* (as understood by the *fuqahā*). He says that purification from filth indicates purification of passion; wearing clean garments means freedom from anything which is unlawful; purification from self-contamination is a symbol of being free from distraction and sin; facing the *qiblah* (Ka'bah) indicates concentrating on the majesty of God; standing before *takbīr* is a symbol of standing in the garden of proximity to God (*qurbah*). The time of prayer means the time of "reality" (*haqīqah*); and saying *takbīr* (*Allāh Akbar*) is a symbol of entering the stage of awe (*haybah*).²⁷⁷ Prostrating indicates knowing oneself, profession (*tashahhud*) means entering

²⁷⁴ Ibid. Al-Qushayrī, in his *Tartīb al-Sulūk*, explained the necessary steps for the seeker (*sālik*) in order to be successful in his *dhikr*. He elaborates the method of *dhikr* starting from *dhikr* by tongue then moving into the heart, then moving into the inner part of the heart (*al-sirr*) and finally to annihilation. For detailed information see F. Meier, "al-Qushayrī's *Tartīb as-Sulūk*," in *Oriens XVI* (1963), 1 - 39. See also Landolt, *Nuruddin*, 108. See also al-Qushayrī, *Rasā'il al-Qushayrī*, 63-80.

²⁷⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 371; al-Hujwīrī, A, 216.

²⁷⁶ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 102.

²⁷⁷ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 300; al-Hujwīrī, A, 542.

intimacy, and salutation means freedom from other than God, including stations.

In addition, there are two important points mentioned only in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*: the goal of *dhikr* and the psychological influence of *dhikr* upon the seeker. The goal of the *dhikr* is different from that of *salāh*. The *salāh* is not a means of obtaining either *hudūr* (presence) or *ghaybah* (absence), but it is a Divine command by its essence.²⁷⁸ *Dhikr*, on the other hand, is a tool (not the essence) to be near God, which is why al-Wāsitī said that *dhikr* without remembering God is more dangerous than forgetting the *dhikr* itself.²⁷⁹ In regard to the psychological influence of *dhikr*, al-Hujwīrī says that when the servant remembers God, He too remembers him; and whenever God remembers his servant, the latter is overpowered, his humanity is totally replaced, and his acquisition is annihilated.²⁸⁰ As a result, God's remembrance is also his remembrance, as is sometimes uttered in the words of ecstasy such as Abū Yazīd's statement: "Glory to me ! How great in my majesty!"²⁸¹

To conclude, it may be stated that though in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* there is a discussion similar to al-Hujwīrī's about the excellency of *dhikr*, al-Qushayrī does not attribute this virtue to either states or stations. Instead, he only mentions that *dhikr* is a basic pillar of the spiritual Path. On the other hand, al-Hujwīrī clearly states that it belongs to the stations. and is symbolized in the prayer (*ṣalāh*). In spite of these dissimilarities, they both agree that *dhikr* is an important virtue which is crucial for advancement on the spiritual journey.

²⁷⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 301 ; al-Hujwīrī, A, 543.

²⁷⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 154-155; al-Hujwīrī, A, 366-367.

²⁸⁰ According to al-Qushayrī, this state is called the state of union of union (*Jam al-Jam*). See F. Meier, "al-Qušayrī's *Tartīb as-Sulūk*." 22.

²⁸¹ Al-Hujwīrī. E, 254; al-Hujwīrī, A, 495.

MAHABBAH (LOVE)

Al-Ghazālī says that *mahabbah* is the final goal of the stations (*al-maḳāmmāt*) and is the highest of stages (*al-Darājāt*): the stages before, like *taubah*, *zuhd*, *sabr*, etc are to be an introduction to it, while the stages after, such as *uns*, *shauq*, and *ridā*, are its effects.²⁸² According to Ibn al-'Arīf, love is the beginning of the mystical path as well as the end of it.²⁸³

For the lover tribulation is a gift from his Beloved which should be sincerely accepted.²⁸⁴ Related to this point, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī says that there are servants of God who are tested by tribulation, and they realize that such kinds of tests are a beneficial thing from God and they even thank Him for that. The tribulation comes to them but their hearts are absent from it. Whenever they possess this kind of station, God will place them in the highest stage.²⁸⁵ Because of the longing for God, the sūfis never fear death, for death, for them, is the gateway to the meeting of the lover and the Beloved. If they do not want it, it may be only because they are not ready yet to meet Him. Instead, they would spend the rest of their lives dedicated to their Beloved.²⁸⁶ With such a view of things, we might understand why al-Hallāj danced before he was killed.²⁸⁷

282 Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, IV, 294.

283 See Ibn al-'Arīf, *The Attraction of Mystical Sessions (Mahāsin al-Majālis)*, translated by William Elliott and Adnan K. Abdulla (England: Averbury Publishing Company Limited, 1980), 64.

284 Ibn 'Atā' Allāh in his *al-Hikam* explains that the knowledge that God is the Giver of temptation (*balā'*) diminishes the pain of tribulation. Ibn 'Atā' Allāh, *al-Hikam*, edited and translated by Paul Nwyia (Beyrouth: Librairie Orientale B.P., 1989), verse 97-98.

285 See 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *Al-Ghunya*, II, 221.

286 R.A. Nicholson, "Love (Muhammadan)," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1955).

287 Schimmel, *Mystical*, 135 - 136. There are some verses in the Qur'ān as well,

Al-Qushayrī clearly asserts that *mahabbah* is a state. He said that *mahabbah* (love) is a high state which God attested for His servant.²⁸⁸ God said: "O ye who believe! If any from among you turn back from his faith, soon will God produce a people whom He will love as they will love Him..."²⁸⁹ Likewise, al-Hujwīrī also holds the same view that *mahabbah* is among the states. This notion can be seen in his statements that "satisfaction (*ridā*) is one of the 'stations' (*maqāmāt*) of the beginning, and love is one of the 'states' (*ahwāl*) of the end."²⁹⁰ In addition, he also says that "love is a Divine gift, not anything that can be acquired."²⁹¹ They also share the view that *mahabbah* cannot be described by definition nor in words, for love is a feeling which is never expressed in adequate words.²⁹²

In dealing with this doctrine, al-Hujwīrī seems to have based his ideas on *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*. He cites the Qur'ānic verse and three prophetic traditions which are already mentioned in *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*. Moreover, he paraphrases al-Qushayrī's elaboration of the root of the word *mahabbah*. He says that the 'ulamā' have different opinions about this matter. Some of them said that the word *mahabbah* is derived from *hibbah* which means "seeds which fall to the earth in the desert," for *hubb* (love) is the cause of life in the same way as the seeds are for

according to which, tribulations for the believers are processes for the selection of God's servants. See for example, al-Qur'ān, 29:2, 2:214, 67:2.

²⁸⁸ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144.

²⁸⁹ Al-Qur'ān, 5; 57.

²⁹⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 157; al-Hujwīrī, A, 369.

²⁹¹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 310; al-Hujwīrī, A, 553. According to him, all sūfis agree that love is the very principle of the Path to God. They, however, sometimes called it purity (*safwah*) or poverty (*faqr*) and sainthood (*wilāyah*). See al-Hujwīrī, E, 308; al-Hujwīrī, A, 552. For sainthood, see al-Hujwīrī, E, 211; al-Hujwīrī, A, 443.

²⁹² Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 309; al-Hujwīrī, A, 553.

plants. Others said that *mahabbah* originated from *hubb* which means "a jar full of stagnant water," for whenever love enters the heart, there is no room left for other than the Beloved. Al-Shiblī said: "Love is called *mahabbah* because it obliterates (*tamhū*) from the heart everything except the beloved"²⁹³

Others said that *mahabbah* originated from *hubb*, meaning "the four conjoined pieces of wood on which a water-jug is placed." The reason for this is that the lover always bears whatever the beloved does to him. For others, *mahabbah* is derived from *habb* (core) for love is placed in the core of the heart. Others said that it originated from *habāb* "bubbles of water and its effervescence in a heavy rainfall", for love causes the bubbles in the heart whenever the heart is longing to meet the beloved. Some others said that *mahabbah* is derived from *hubb* meaning "pure love." It is like the Arabs' statement, *habbat al-qalb*, meaning "pure black (core) of the heart."²⁹⁴

Moreover, al-Hujwīrī also paraphrases al-Qushayrī's explanation of the *ulamā*'s opinion concerning *mahabbah*. He says that, according to some theologians, there are three possible meanings of *mahabbah*: the first is (*irādah*)²⁹⁵ i.e. will, inclination, passion and the heart's expectation of mutual affection between the lover and the beloved. This meaning cannot be applied to God since God has no need of anything. The second is God's blessing which causes the servant to be nearest to Him and to

²⁹³ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144. See also al-Hujwīrī, E, 305; al-Hujwīrī, A, 547.

²⁹⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 305-306, al-Hujwīrī, A, 548-549.

²⁹⁵ Al-Qushayrī divided God's will into three types. The first is His will to punish His servant. This is called *iqāb* (punishment). The second is His will to confer general mercy on His servant. This is called *rahmah* (blessing). The third is His will to bestow the selected beneficence to His servant. This is called *mahabbah*. See, al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144.

achieve the highest states. This specialization is called "love".²⁹⁶ The third is God's praise for a good action. It is the divine word which is uncreated. Both the second and the third, according to the majority of *ahl al-Sunnah*, can be attributed to God. The traditionalist (*salaf*), however, rejected all of these meanings. According to them, rationally, the word "love" cannot be attributed to God. Since love is among the proclaimed attributes of God (*al-sifah al-khabariyah*), our duty is to affirm and to believe them, "but suspend our own judgment concerning them."²⁹⁷

Man's love for God, meaning "veneration and magnification" manifests itself in the hearts of pious believers in search of the Beloved's satisfaction. Because of his love, the believer constantly strives to see Him, and always remember Him.²⁹⁸

Unlike al-Qushayrī, al-Hujwīrī differentiates love from its object into two types:

(1) the love of like towards like, which is a desire instigated by the lower soul and which seeks the essence (*dhāt*) of the beloved object by means of sexual intercourse; (2) the love of one who is unlike the object of his love and who seeks to become intimately attached to an attribute of that object, e.g. hearing without speech or seeing without eye.²⁹⁹

He also describes the way to accepting God's love. He says that the *sūfis* have

²⁹⁶ Al-Hujwīrī E, 306-307; al-Hujwīrī, A, 550.

²⁹⁷ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, 144. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 306-307; al-Hujwīrī, A, 550.

²⁹⁸ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 307; al-Hujwīrī, A, 550-551. Al-Junayd, as quoted by al-Qushayrī, described the notion of love with a reference to a servant who turns away from himself for the sake of the remembrance of God and who fulfills his obligations towards God while he sees Him with his inner heart. Consequently, the servant's heart is burned by the light of God's majesty, his love is free from everything, and God's majesty is revealed to him through the veil of invisibility. When he speaks (*takallama*), he speaks by God, when he talks (*nataqa*), he talks from God, when he moves, his movement is a result of God's command, and when he is silent, he is with God (*ma'a Allāh*). He is by God, for God and with God (*bi Allāh wa li Allāh wa ma'a Allāh*). See Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, 147. This is the notion of Hadīth al-Nawāfil. This, according to al-Sarrāj, is the highest level of love. See al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 59.

²⁹⁹ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 308; al-Hujwīrī, A, 551.

different attitudes towards accepting God's love. Some of them enjoy this mercy while always remembering the Giver. Others, however, consider that this kind of mercy is a veil. This is the most excellent class of *sūfis*.³⁰⁰ The former is for those who are pleased (*ridā*) with happiness of this world (*nu'mā*). While the latter is for those who are pleased with being chosen. This is the class of the lover of God.³⁰¹

In the last section of the chapter, al-Hujwīrī discusses five of al-Qushayrī's sayings about love. One of the *sūfis* said that "love is the effacement of the lover's attributes and the establishment of the Beloved's essence." For the Beloved is subsistent and the lover is annihilated. The reason is that every lover needs a beloved, and therefore the lover is never independent in his own attributes. This is the first statement. The second is a statement by Abū Yazīd. Abū Yazīd says

Love consists in regarding your own much as little and your Beloved's little as much. This is how God Himself deals with His servants, for He calls 'little' that which He has given to them in this world (kor. iv,79), but calls their praise of Him 'much'.³⁰²

The third is Sahl al-Tustarī's saying that "Love consists in embracing acts of obedience (*mu'ānaqat al-tā'āt*) and in avoiding acts of disobedience." The reason is that when the power of love enters in the heart, the lover would perform the command of his beloved easily. This statement, according to al-Hujwīrī, rejects the opinion that those who have achieved the state of *mahabbah* are free from religious obligations. He argues that the prophet Muhammad himself continued to maintain his religious obligations throughout his life.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Al-Hujwīrī, E, 308; al-Hujwīrī, A, 551.

³⁰¹ See my previous discussion, 67-68.

³⁰² Al-Qur'ān, 33:35.

³⁰³ As far as the various statements quoted by al-Qushayrī are concerned, there is not a single quotation which states that those who achieve real love are free from religious obligations. Instead, there are quotations emphasizing the

The fourth is Samnūn's statement. Samnūn says: "The lovers of God have borne away the glory of this world and the next, for the prophet said, 'A man is with the object of his love.'" In other words, "they are with God in both worlds, and those who are with God can do no wrong." The fifth is Yahyā b Mu'ādh al-Rāzī's statement. According to him, "Real love is neither diminished by unkindness nor increased by kindness and bounty." The reason, al-Hujwīrī explains, is that when the lover contemplates that the author of both kindness and unkindness is his beloved, he comes to see no difference between these two traits, since both are gifts from the beloved.³⁰⁴

Both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī discuss an excessive love (*'ishq*), but from different angles. Al-Qushayrī reports a number of sayings to prove that *'ishq* is acceptable, while al-Hujwīrī discusses the different views on whether or not *'ishq* is allowed.³⁰⁵ In my view, if al-Hujwīrī shared the same definition of *'ishq* with al-Qushayrī (an excessive love due to the heart's yearning to encounter the beloved), he would agree with al-Qushayrī's view. Al-Hujwīrī's own statement that *'ishq* is applicable to God as long as its meaning does not contradict God's attributes, seems to confirm my assumption.

significance of observing religious obligations for those achieving the experience of love. This can be seen, for example, in Sahl's statement as well as in two other statements by *sūfī* masters. See al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144.

³⁰⁴ Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, 144-145. Al-Hujwīrī, E, 311-313; al-Hujwīrī, A, 554-556.

³⁰⁵ There are four opinions on this matter. The first is that *'ishq* is applicable only to man in relation to God since *'ishq* consists of debarment. Second, *'ishq* consists in passing beyond limits; Since there is no limit for God, therefore, *'ishq* is unacceptable. Third, *'ishq* is only applied to the desire of obtaining the essence, whereas to achieve God's essence is impossible. Therefore, *'ishq* is rejected. Fourth, *'ishq* is applicable to God as long as its meaning does not contradict to the attributes of God. See al-Hujwīrī, E, 310; al-Hujwīrī, A, 554-555.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is a comparison between al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's doctrine of *maqāmāt* (stations) and *ahwāl* (states) as expressed in the former's *al-Risālah* and the latter's *Kashf al-Mahjūb*. Al-Qushayrī was a Sunnī Shāfirī Ash'arīte who was not solely dedicated to sūfism, but was also involved in politics, theology, Qur'ānic exegesis and prophetic tradition. Al-Hujwīrī, his contemporary, was a Sunnī Hanafī who devoted his life to sūfism at a very early age. Al-Qushayrī lived under the Saljūqs. Al-Hujwīrī, on the other hand, lived under the Ghaznavid dynasty. Despite such differences, there are many similarities between the two figures. Both of them were the followers of al-Junayd's school and they also had the same motivation in composing their books, namely: to lay out the true sūfī path and to prevent malpractice of sūfism.

In their doctrines of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl*, both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī argue that the stations can be earned, while states are gifts from God that cannot be acquired. They also agree that to enter a certain station requires a process of self-mortification that becomes a precondition for that station. The only difference is that al-Qushayrī seems to view that station is a kind of conduct, while for al-Hujwīrī, the station is the nature of the seeker himself, not his conduct.

Al-Hujwīrī not only agrees with al-Qushayrī but also sometimes paraphrases from al-Qushayrī's *Risālah* when discussing the stations of *taubah*, *ridā* and *mahabbah*. For example, he paraphrases al-Qushayrī's discussion about the meaning of *taubah*, its pre-conditions, its levels, whether one who repents should forget his sin or not, and the validity of repentance even for those who commit a sin again. His discussion of *mahabbah* and of *ridā* is mostly based on *al-Risālah al-*

Qushayriyah. Moreover, al-Hujwīrī agrees with al-Qushayrī that *zuhd*, *tawakkul*, and *taslīm* belong to the category of stations and *ridā* can be either a station or a state.

They, however, differ in regard to the total number of stations: al-Qushayrī never stated a certain number of stations. In addition, he asserts that *taubah* - which he subdivides into three types: *taubah*, *inābah* and *aubah - wara'*, *zuhd*, *qanā'ah*, *tawakkul* - which he also classifies into three: *tawakkul*, *taslīm* and *tafwīd* - and the beginning of *ridā* are stations. For al-Hujwīrī, however, the total number of stations is the same as the number of prophets (more than 124,000). Each prophet represents one station. In his elaboration, al-Hujwīrī not only attributed a station to a certain prophet, but also attributed a state to a particular prophet. Al-Qushayrī does not clearly identify *dhikr* as either a state or a station, but al-Hujwīrī holds that *dhikr* is a station. Al-Qushayrī identifies both *wara'* and *qanā'ah* as stations, whereas al-Hujwīrī's point about these two stations is unclear.

In respect to their doctrines of states (*ahwāl*), both al-Qushayrī and al-Hujwīrī agree that *mahabbah*, *qabd*, *bast*, *uns* and *haybah* belong to the states (*ahwāl*). They also agree that the stages of love consist of both fear and hope; whenever fear develops, it becomes contraction (*qabd*), and whenever the contraction develops, it becomes awe (*haybah*). Like fear, hope in love will develop into expansion (*bast*) and from expansion into intimacy (*uns*).

They, however, disagree in identifying *huzn* (sorrow), *khauf* (fear) and *rajā'* (hope): al-Qushayrī states that sorrow, fear and hope are states (*ahwāl*), while al-Hujwīrī asserts that all these three are stations (*maqāmāt*). The disagreement on identifying *khauf* and *rajā'* as a station or a state is caused by the difference in analysis not on the level of doctrinal concept. For, as was clearly pointed out by Suhrawardī, the station is encompassed by the state, whereas the state is filled with the station. Besides, there are states (*ahwāl*) which are clearly stated only by al-

Hujwīrī, namely the states of *al-qahr*, *al-lutf*, *musāmarah*, *muhādathah*, *wajd* and *wujūd*.

Al-Hujwīrī criticizes al-Qushayrī on three important issues. The first is about al-Qushayrī's opinion on the denotation of *maqām*. For al-Qushayrī, *maqām* means the place where the seeker performs self-mortification which is required in that station. For al-Hujwīrī, however, *maqām* is a nature of the seeker himself. Therefore, every single seeker remains in his own station from the very beginning until the end of his searching. Al-Qushayrī states that Khurāsānis held that *ridā* is a station while 'Iraqīs asserted that it is a state. Al-Hujwīrī holds the opposite view and criticizes al-Qushayrī by saying that the 'Iraqīs held that *ridā* is a station, while Khurāsānis considered *ridā* as a state. He adds that this notion of *ridā* as a state originated from al-Muhāsibī and then Khurāsānis followed his view. The third point which al-Hujwīrī criticizes is al-Qushayrī's statement that the "one who is pleased with God" (*rādī*) should not enjoy the gift itself, but should look away from the gift towards the Giver. For al-Hujwīrī, however, this view only applies to those who accept the happiness of this world (*nu'mā*) but it should neither be applied to *ahl marifah*, nor *ahl balā* nor *ahl istifā*.

As far as the style of these two books is concerned, two points can be made. The first is that, in *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah*, the doctrine of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* is discussed in the style of a report accompanied by careful references. In *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the discussion occurs in a more systematic order. Al-Qushayrī elaborates his doctrine through dividing his book into different sections, each of which includes a number of quotations relevant to a specific theme from al-Qur'ān, *al-hadīth*, the 'ulamā's sayings as well as the stories of sūfī masters. Al-Hujwīrī, although he sometimes also uses the same method, discusses the doctrine of *maqāmāt* through giving an esoteric interpretation of the religious obligations (*farā'id*) i.e. *taubah* as the

esoteric meaning of *tahārah* (purification), *taslīm* as the esoteric meaning of the *hajj* (pilgrimage) and *dhikr* as the esoteric meaning of *salāt* (prayer).

It is important to note that there are a number of points which are only discussed in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*. For example the notion that every prophet represents a certain station, the discussion of relationship between *maqām* and *tamkīn*, *hāl* and *waqt*, the division of *rādī*, the classification of *mahabbah*, the discussion of state *al-qahr*, *al-lutf*, *al-musāmarah* and *al-muhādathah*.

Beyond the secondary differences between them, it seems to me, that al-Qushayrī's and al-Hujwīrī's views can be combined as follows; Basically, the doctrine of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* is the Path of self-purification from otherness (*ghayrīyāh*) through the doctrine of love (*mahabbah*), to establish (*tamkīn*) realization of Oneness of God (*tauhīd*). In this process, the stations of *taubah*, *inābah* and *aubah* are human's efforts to return from all otherness to God. While the stations of *wara'*, and *zuhd* are the ways to purify one's own self from otherness, and the stations of *qanā'ah*, *tawakkul*, *taslīm*, *tafwīd* and *ridā* are the ways to reach total submission to The One God. The station of *dhikr*, however, is like the fuel of love. Without *dhikr*, love does not work.

Ahwāl, in this case, are feelings of love which are caused by God's manifestations (either in His beauty or in His majesty). Because the lover is always dependent on the Beloved, therefore the lover is always in hope (*rajā'*) of the presence of the Beloved. At the same time, the lover also has fear (*khauf*) of the absent of the Beloved. As a result of the presence of the Beloved, the lover is happy, while when the Beloved is absence, the lover is in sadness (*huzn*).

Whenever the degree of love develops, fear becomes a contraction (*qabḍ*) and hope changes into an expansion (*basṭ*). Whenever the degree of love develops into

its highest stage, the contraction becomes awe (*haybah*) and the expansion becomes intimacy (*uns*). All of these, theoretically, are the direct effect of God's manifestation, therefore, they are known as God's gifts.

In the process of love, the dialogue between lover and Beloved is necessary. If the dialogue takes place during the day, it is called *muhādathah* (conversation). If it occurs at night, it is called *musāmarah* (nocturnal discourse). Whenever the relationship between the lover and the Beloved is intense, one of two possibilities may occur: either the Beloved will overpower His lover (*al-qahr*) or the Beloved will give anything which is asked by His lover (*al-lutf*).

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